THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Fascists Advance in Spain

By Tuesday, January 24, the military situation as regards Barcelona, while not hopeless, was extremely serious. Franco, aided by vast new supplies of war materials from Germany and thousands of fresh Italian troops, had driven into the outskirts of the city. Martial law was declared and foreigners were being evacuated. Even if Barcelona fell, of course, much of Catalonia would remain in the Loyalists' hands, as well as the large section in the southeast which includes Madrid. Even should formal resistance fail, guerilla tactics would be maintained for years to come. Franco, who has already spilled so much blood, would have to wade through still more of it on the road to "peace."

Prime Minister Chamberlain is the man most directly responsible for the Spanish tragedy. He has both helped Franco toward victory and has prevented effective measures by France to aid the Loyalists. With Rebel guns booming in the outskirts of Barcelona, the French are said to be counting on Hitler to keep Mussolini quiet after the victory. No more fantastic idea was ever put forward. Hitler and Mussolini have taken turns in making demands on the democracies. Both Germany and Italy are in Spain to stay, if Franco wins. If Mussolini does not then renew his demands on France it will only be to give Hitler time to strike in the Ukraine. Within a few months at most, France must either yield much territory to Italy or be prepared to fight. By permitting Franco to win, France will have weakened herself strategically so much that, for the first time, the outcome of such a war would be in serious doubt. The actions of Britain and France constitute the greatest example of shortsightedness, of national suicide, in modern times.

The Juggernaut Rolls On

Hjalmar Schacht, president of the German Reichsbank, has at last been deposed by Chancellor Hitler. Many times before it has been rumored that this would occur, because it was thought that Schacht, as a skilled banker, would decline sooner or later to sanction the measures that were leading Germany into fiscal trouble. Now it is stated that this removal indicates a further advancement for the more "radical" Nazis. We seriously doubt, however, whether Schacht has ever been a truly moderating influence. His skill has been devoted to serving the purposes of the Nazi state ever since Hitler achieved power, and the financial measures now to be taken are probably the same as those previously worked out with him. His removal does not change the regime's direction but portends greater firmness. It is a signal to the industrial interests that they can hope for no gentleness in the process of coördinating all Germans with the needs of the war machine; they no longer have any friends at court. At the same time Hitler has moved further toward control of the army by breaking up the officers' caste with more infiltration of good party men. Business, church and army have long been centers of possible trouble to the totalitarian dictatorship; Hitler's preparation for war proceeds apace with their more thorough subordination.

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Saviors

From the heights above Santa Coloma de Queralt, a little Catalan town in the path of Franco's drive toward Barcelona, Republican soldiers have watched one of the most terrible scenes of the war. It was a bright day, and the staff of the Eleventh Division, including the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Rodriguez, could see the Fiat tanks of the Italian Littorio Division clearly as they cut off the four roads and made escape impossible for the 1,500 refugees in the town who had been unable to leave sooner. They saw the crews get out of the tanks with submachine guns and start a round-up. They saw refugees herded into an open space on the edge of the town. They saw the gunners open up.

"Do not ask me to describe that scene," Colonel Enrique Lister said afterwards. "Rodriguez almost choked when he told me about it. I do not know how many refugees were killed, but we do know there were about 1,500 of them there at the time and presumably they were all massacred." The Republicans sent their one armored car down to try to stop the slaughter and it fired on the machine gunners, but a number of Fascist tanks drove it off. There was nothing more to do but watch, and listen.

Babbitt Rides High

When Representative Caroline O'Day proposed that the Deficiency Relief Bill should allot $22,000,000 to the Federal Arts Projects, her amendment was not voted down; it was howled and hooted down. Said The New York Times, "Nothing more than the suggestion that these projects were in some way connected with the Dies Committee investigation apparently was needed." Yet the section of the Dies Committee report that deals with the Arts Projects is pretty flimsy stuff. Most of it simply repeats the testimony of two disgruntled employees who were heard secretly, in executive session, without being asked any but leading questions. The directors of the Arts Project were given no chance to answer them and were not even told what was said. This was nothing very impressive; merely that the Writers' Project in five states had submitted "communistic"—that is, pro-labor—articles for inclusion in the state guides, although most of these articles were later censored in Washington. One witness produced the following example of "communistic" propaganda:

> I do not believe it has been mentioned before, but in the New Jersey Guide Book there is a criticism of the legislative set-up. The legislative set-up in New Jersey is patterned exactly after the legislative set-up of the United States of America. . . . There is a direct criticism of that form of government in New Jersey, because it does not lead to adequate representation of the counties in New Jersey which have more population than the others. In other words, it is a direct criticism of the form of government of the United States, implying that a state like Nevada should not merit two Senators in one house and a Representative or two Representatives in the lower house.

Mr. Dies should have advised the witness to read an elementary textbook in civics. Instead his remarks were gravely committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed. Moreover, they will do a lot of damage. In Congress this year the Babbitts are riding high, and they will believe anything that reinforces their suspicion of writers, artists and other subversive aliens.

Martin Splits the Auto Workers

The long feared split in the United Automobile Workers of America has at last arrived. Though any internal controversy is a source of weakness in the labor movement, the union is probably better able to weather the trouble now than when the division was patched up by the intervention of the CIO, through its vice-presidents, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, several months ago. At that time everyone concerned agreed to suppress the controversy until the next general convention, when the rank-and-file delegates would have an opportunity to elect a new slate of officers. But Homer Martin, president of the union, subsequently refused to follow the instructions of a large majority of the General Executive Board, and proceeded to renew the warfare by removing the officers of the large and powerful Plymouth local. The Board then suspended him, and Mr. Martin showed his contempt for constitutional democracy in the union by trying to start a new organization of his own. This time he is so clearly in the wrong that we do not see how the membership can be deceived into following him. Mr. Martin is evidently suffering from a psychoneurosis; he is an ally of Father Coughlin and has somewhat dubious relations with the Ford management and with the Lovestoneite faction of dissident Communists. It is an ugly combination, but we hope that the organization as a whole will keep its head, remain together and express its will at the convention in March. Meanwhile, the guiding hand of the CIO will probably be used to good purpose.

Hearst's Third Strike

On January 22, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, had a newspaper again for the first time in sixteen weeks. The Sunday Independent, one of the four newspapers closed by the American Newspaper Guild strike, had signed a Guild contract and appeared again. The managers of the three daily papers are negotiating. In Chicago the strike against the two Hearst papers is still in force. Nearly three hundred advertisers have withdrawn since the strike began, December 5, and the combined circulation of the papers has dropped 185,000 from the former 595,000.

Hearst has tried everything. The strike was called because of wholesale firing. When it started, gang-

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sters slugged and beat strikers on the picket line. Circulation branch managers were offered more than double their old pay to come back to work, thugs beat men making the rounds of advertisers to get them to withdraw patronage, "loyal" employees were fêted. It didn't work. The Guild strikers are backed by practically the entire trade-union movement (with the shameful exception of William Green), The New World, official weekly of the Catholic archdiocese of Chicago, and a big committee of citizens. The violence has been stopped. The most important strike in Guild history is stronger every day.

Republican Floods

When the New England spring thaw floods the land and millions of dollars' worth of property is destroyed, along with a few score lives, the Governors of the six states will almost certainly step to their microphones to soothe the anguished victims. "The floodtide has been passed," they will say. "The waters are slowly receding. Order is being maintained in the city. We are doing everything we can. . . ." Everything, that will mean, that can be done after the disaster. Power is the real issue in the fight between New England and the federal government, as Bulkley S. Griffin pointed out in The New Republic of November 16. The government was willing to build dams necessary to control floods in New England, but in turn the government expected to own and control the power that might be developed at the sites. In 1936 Congress approved a law giving federal aid for a flood-control program and authorizing interstate compacts for the local costs of the project. About a year later Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont and New Hampshire submitted their compacts for congressional approval. Several dangerous clauses were included; the compacts transgressed the 1936 act by including power provisions. The states were to be given a 999-year veto authority over production and use of power from the proposed dams and there was no assurance that the power potentialities would ever be utilized. The states and cities involved were guaranteed no preference over private companies as regards opportunities for power development.

Congress, of course, did not ratify the agreement, but last June voted that the interstate compacts were unnecessary. Instead the federal government was to pay all the costs of the flood-control projects and consequently hold title to all their potentialities. This is the provision which has so upset the New England Governors. For the purpose of debate, however, their wrath is directed against the land-condemnation clauses contained in the original compact. On this account Governor Aiken of Vermont, who has stated his belief that the public should own the power facilities of its dams, is enabled to fight the flood-control project on the age-old issue of states' rights. Many New Englanders have been led to believe that the government is trying to usurp the right to condemn private property. But they are all being fooled by the skillful way in which the utility lawyers have cast the question. When the floods come, the six Republican Governors, the New England Power Association's loyal friends, will be responsible.

American Fascist

A short time ago The Charleston, South Carolina, News and Courier published an ugly editorial. It began: "This country's need is a strong, honest, good-hearted dictator." It went on to say that anything would be better than an attempt to spend ourselves into an increased income to balance the budget (whereas a "benevolent" dictator would raise taxes)—anything would be better than "the creation by purchase of an electorate."

Even if it believes this last is happening in America, does The News and Courier think it is worse to have an electorate "created" by money than by the threat or use of force? Does it think "guns instead of butter" a better economic policy than our present one? If Americans had a dictator they would overthrow him, the paper believes. Then we would be back where we are now, fighting to improve popular government by democratic methods. And what would it have cost us?

The arguments are idiotic, but the publisher of The News and Courier has the right, under our government, to print whatever he pleases, short of libel. He couldn't under a dictatorship.

Refugees in Purgatory

The situation of the refugees in western Europe is deplorable, but in Czecho-Slovakia it is almost incredible. When the German armies invaded the Sudetenland, thousands of families took flight. They included refugees of all types—racial, religious, economic, political, German, Czech and Jewish; Socialist, Communist, Liberal and Catholic. Some of them had a little money, but at least 12,000 are now utterly destitute. They are housed in camps near Prague, where they receive a maximum of 28 cents a day for food (and in some cases a minimum of 7 cents). A little extra, for clothing, is contributed by the Lord Mayor's Fund. But the greatest problem they face is not their present need for adequate food and shelter. Their real fear is for the future, since the Czecho-Slovakian government, bullied into reaction by Germany, no longer wants refugees of any sort, and especially not Jews or radicals. Germany has demanded the extradition of all the German-speaking "Aryans" and Prague is yielding. Many have already been shipped across the border, and one at least, a young Socialist named Peter Forster, has been tried by a German court and executed.

The chief problem of the relief agencies is to get these people out of the country as soon as possible. The three Scandinavian countries have each promised 250 visas for Sudeten Germans; they will accept Socialists

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but not Communists. France has promised 350 to 400 visas, but hasn't yet granted them. England will take 250 refugee families; here again the Communists are not wanted. Russia has done nothing and promised nothing (though Forster's life could have been saved by a Russian or any other visa). The United States has likewise offered no visas, though it has contributed some money through charitable organizations. Meanwhile the Germans, week by week, are becoming more and more insistent that the German political refugees be extradited for trial. And the refugees are living in a sort of purgatory, between salvation in a free country and damnation in what they regard as the German hell.

Radio Shut-up

There is a small chance that the American Federation of Radio Artists will have called their strike against commercial programs before this editorial appears. The dispute is over wages, especially over the rates to be paid for rehearsal time. The demands of the union and the offers of the employers are not far apart; it seems likely that some sort of compromise can be reached, if both sides are really bargaining in good faith. The dispute is nevertheless a bitter one. The AFRA has become discouraged by the long process of wrangling with commercial sponsors over minimum-wage agreements. Even in an industry where delay and bluff are standard bargaining devices, the union believes, the advertising agencies have stalled too long. The only way to punch them into action is to present the threat of a crippling general radio strike. That threat has been offered in full force. AFRA locals in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco have voted to strike, if it becomes a necessity. The Screen Actors' Guild and Actors' Equity Association have resolved that their members shall not scab. Everything depends, therefore, on the decision of the AFRA's national board. Outside the trade press, the dispute and the news of the impending strike have hardly been mentioned, and the reports that have been printed give a confused picture of the issues involved. It is a confusing story, to be sure, but any city editor would appreciate the news value of a threatened radio strike and play it big. We wonder, innocently, if the press can be kowtowing to its advertisers?

Footnotes on Spain

We quote two letters that recently appeared in The Brooklyn Tablet, a pro-Franco Catholic newspaper:

> Fellow Christians, Catholic Spain is fighting YOUR battle. . . . Either you will take up the cudgels in this continuing fight, or you will shortly find yourselves on one side of the barricades right here in our own city.
>
> Brooklyn, N. Y. J. LEE

> Out with the anti-Christian foreign traders! America for Americans!
>
> If there are 5,000,000 enemies of America in the United States our answer is that there are 5,000,000 lampposts to hang them on.
>
> Manhattan, New York City UNCLE DUDLEY

Last week a woman we know received a letter, returned because of insufficient postage. It was addressed to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and contained a plea to maintain the embargo against Loyalist Spain. The letter was signed with our friend's name, which surprised her, for she is in favor of lifting the embargo. And she can't sign her name.

The new edition of Jane's Fighting Ships listed four destroyers and two submarines sold to Franco by Italy. The destroyers were the "Velasco Ceuta," formerly the "Falco"; the "Velasco Melilla," formerly the "Aquila"; the "Huesca," formerly the "Guglielmo Pepe," and the "Teruel," formerly the "Alessandro Poerto." The submarines are the "Mola" and the "Sanjurjo," Italian names unknown. A note from the Spanish Republic to the British Foreign Office said:

> Although nothing can any longer surprise when it is a matter of seeing major breaches of the non-intervention agreement accepted in silence, the Spanish government cannot refrain from expressing not only amazement but also energetic protest against the deliberate silence which the non-intervention committee maintained in these transactions.

News Notes of a Week

President Roosevelt laid before Congress a national health program such as has often been recommended by progressives, formulated by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coördinate Health and Welfare Activities. It included expansion and strengthening of the existing federal-state health programs, organized public-health services in states and communities and maternal and child-health services. . . . The American Consulate in London had no right to revoke the visa of John Strachey while he was en route to this country, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled. As Mr. Strachey pointed out in The New Republic of November 9, the revocation was without precedent and had extremely dangerous implications. If the Department of Labor has further doubts concerning the author's admissibility it must hold a hearing.

A method of producing airplane bodies from plastic material, twenty or thirty times as fast as they can now be made, was announced by George Baekeland, vice-president of the Bakelite Corporation. The new principle, which gave a hint of the possible strength of the United States in the air, is suitable for military planes. . . . The other military news of the week was that British housewives were advised to start storing up food, by Sir Auckland Geddes, assistant to Lord Privy Seal Sir John Anderson, the Cabinet member charged with organizing civilian defense.

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A Telegram to the President

President Roosevelt, the White House, Washington:

A few days ago Father Coughlin spoke against raising the Spanish embargo, because of his favor for the cause of the Fascist Franco. At the same time a number of Catholic authorities from their pulpits urged their ill informed flocks to bring pressure to bear on Washington to the same end. As a result telegrams and letters went to you, to Senators and Representatives by the hundred thousand. Believers in progressive democracy are not so well disciplined and are not so accustomed to making peremptory demands; nevertheless it is well for those who disagree with the reactionaries among the Catholics to make their position known. This editorial is therefore being sent to you by wire; its burden is to urge you to act at once in raising the unneutral embargo which is helping to turn Spain over to the friend of Hitler and Mussolini.

You surely cannot be deceived by the Coughlin-sponsored telegrams. The Gallup poll, the accuracy of which you have good reason to know, recently sounded American public opinion on this question. It showed that two-thirds of the people had chosen sides in the Spanish civil war, and that of those who had chosen, 76 percent favored the Loyalists and only 24 percent the Rebels. Even American Catholics, in spite of the announced preference of the Pope and the intensive propaganda of other Church authorities, voted only about 40 percent for Franco. We do not suppose you would be intimidated, in executing a policy in which you believed, by the prospect of losing votes—but in this case there is not even a danger of following an unpopular course if you should act.

Why do you not act, and act at once? Why did you not act long ago? We confess that your policy in this matter is a tragic mystery to us.

Nobody has more forcefully than you denounced the aggressors and enemies of democracy in the present world. Nobody has more often expressed a desire not to aid these aggressors. Do you not know that Spain is now a battlefield where the aggressors and the enemies of democracy are fighting to stamp out the last vestiges of liberalism? Do you not know that the so-called "non-intervention" policy, under which we refuse to permit shipment of arms to either side, is a cloak under which Hitler and Mussolini have long been arming Franco to the teeth, while the constitutional Spanish government is starved of assistance from the democratic powers?

Nobody has striven more earnestly than you to save Latin America for democracy. Do you not know that the biggest single influence in this struggle is that of Spanish institutions and culture, and that a victory for Franco would be a stunning defeat for your policy?

Do you blame the Neutrality Act, of which you disapprove, for the existence of the embargo? The New Republic approves of this act in the main, yet it has never approved of the Spanish embargo. The principal authors of the Act wanted to change the policy of this nation toward Spain months ago, and undoubtedly would have obtained a majority in Congress for doing so, but your Department of State prevented them. Do you not know that the embargo was imposed, not by the Neutrality Act, but by a special resolution passed by Congress at your urgent request, and applying only to Spain? Do you not know that the subsequent Neutrality Act makes your power to impose embargoes discretionary in the case of civil wars? Do you not know that so great an authority as ex-Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson believes that the act supersedes the resolution, and that without any further authorization from Congress you can lift the embargo?

Perhaps you are advised that Mr. Stimson is wrong about this. But if so, why have you never asked, and why do you not now ask, Congress for the power to permit the sale of arms to Spain, at least on the cash-and-carry basis? Do you think that might embroil us in a European war? We, who favor the Neutrality Act because we believe it would be unwise to sell arms in a general European war, do not think so, and never have. Neither Germany nor Italy could or would challenge us forcibly for allowing munitions to be shipped to Spain. Why should you, who want to amend the main provisions of the act and place embargoes only on aggressors even in a general war, be so hesitant?

Is the course of this country determined by the wishes of Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain, the chief and stubborn supporter of the cynical "non-intervention" policy? If so, why? Since when have British Tories acted as a guide for progressive Americans? Do you not know that, at least in this instance, Chamberlain is as great an enemy of our interests as Hitler and Mussolini?

Franco is now at the gates of Barcelona. Perhaps you believe that it is too late to do anything. But you probably believed that last spring, when Franco was making his drive to the sea. Yet it was not too late; if you had acted then, the course of world history might have been different. The Spanish democratic forces are not ready to surrender; they have resolved to resist as long as any possibility of resistance remains. Disaster may be imminent, but we should not accept it until we are forced to do so. If you act today, this hour, you might turn the tide in France, in England, even in Spain!

Mr. President, we urge you not to hesitate or delay. We can imagine no valid reason for you to do so. You have spoken bravely—in some cases, we believe, so bravely as to be foolhardy. But here is something that you can safely do—and do now. Why not make your acts correspond with your words?

THE EDITORS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

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If the WPA Is Cut

THOSE OPPONENTS of the New Deal who have been tearing the heavens with their demands for economy are now back in Washington and a good deal embarrassed. It is one thing to say that the government should spend less money; but it is another and much harder thing to say just exactly what federal services should be reduced or eliminated. Thus far, the axe boys have been able to think of nothing except slashing the WPA, and even here they have met with formidable opposition.

Mr. Roosevelt asked $875,000,000 to carry the WPA from February 1 to July 1. There is a rumor that he asked for more than he believed necessary, in the expectation of then compromising on a smaller figure, but this theory has no foundation in fact. The amount of $875,000,000 would just barely carry the present number on the WPA, about 3,000,000, for the stipulated length of time. Already, the rolls have been cut by 350,000 to get them down to 3,000,000, and the WPA takes care of not more than one in every four able-bodied unemployed Americans.

The economizers proposed to cut the President's appropriation by $150,000,000. They claim that this would only reduce the rolls by 400,000 men at most, and have even seriously suggested ordering the WPA not to dismiss more than five percent of its people by April 1. But these proposals are nonsense. To postpone the cuts to April 1 would mean slashing the WPA to ribbons for the following three months. A cut of only 400,000 people would mean taking the entire number off the list on February 1, in the middle of the winter, when the need is greatest. The only sensible action, if a cut must be made, is that proposed by WPA officials, which is to make a progressive cut reducing the number each month. This means not 400,000 but 1,100,000 dismissals by June 1. If you want to know the significance of such a thing to the country, you might recall that between October, 1936, and October, 1937, the WPA was cut by 1,000,000, curtailing purchasing power by at least $25,000,000 or $30,000,000 a month. For this and other reasons, within a few months, *five million* people had lost their jobs in *private industry*.

Some hostile Senators suggest that the WPA should accept the reduction, fire almost nobody, and then ask for more funds on April 1. This is a crazy suggestion even from a conservative Senator. WPA morale would be shattered under such a procedure. Millions of persons could be caused months of mental agony worrying about the future; there is no guarantee that a Congress behaving badly now would reform two months hence.

What does it mean to dismiss 1,100,000 persons from the WPA? The blunt answer is that for many of them it must mean starvation. It is not true that they can go from the WPA to home relief. Many states or cities have laws forbidding home relief entirely to able-bodied persons. Others have almost exhausted their money, like Chicago, which a short time ago was giving its starving poor just 15 percent of the absolute minimum necessary for food and medicine. We know from careful studies that one month after a general dismissal from the WPA, only one-fifth of the victims are getting home relief. One-fifth are living on friends and two-fifths are doing odd jobs and earning on the average $6 a week for a family of four. One-fifth have no income at all. Four months later, one-half are on relief. Whereas the WPA pays on the average $52.50 per month, home relief amounts to only $24 per month. We should dearly love to see Senators Glass, Byrnes, Tydings, Adams, Lodge, or any of them, living on $24 a month each and enjoying it.

Every time a thousand WPA workers are dismissed, even with the normal amount of transfer to home relief, consumer purchasing power is cut by $30,000 to $40,000 a month. The grocers lose $12,000 to $15,000 per month, the landlords $6,000, clothing stores $3,000 and so on. Firing a million men, which is what these gentlemen have recommended—whether they know it or not—means a curtailment of about $30,000,000 a month, or $360,000,000 a year. Because purchasing power reaches back and back, through wholesaler, manufacturer, etc., the shrinkage in the national income will be many times greater. Lay aside every consideration of common human decency. Lay aside the destruction of our national man power through breaking the morale of the unemployed. Lay aside the vast addition to our national wealth that is created through public projects, even though they may not earn a cash dividend from week to week; lay all this aside, and the attitude of people like Senators Adams and Glass and their confreres is still sheer economic illiteracy. They are voting for continued depression, hunger and misery. If they persist, they will hear from the country.

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"The Frontier in American History"

Third Article of the Series, "Books That Changed Our Minds"

ONE JULY DAY IN 1893 members of a learned society heard a young man in Chicago read a paper which was destined to have a more profound influence on thought about American history than any other essay or volume ever written on the subject. The young man was Frederick Jackson Turner and the paper was entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Of course no one can prove that its influence has exceeded that of any other essay or volume on American history, but doubtless a consensus of competent opinion would support this proposition.

The young author of the learned paper was at the time engaged in teaching history in the University of Wisconsin. He was, indeed, a true son of that state, born in 1861 at Portage, on the upper agricultural frontier, educated at local schools, and graduated from the University at Madison. His father, Andrew Jackson Turner, an immigrant from Plattsburg, New York, is described by Frederic Paxson as a journalist, a politician and a local historian. Aided by his wife, Mary Hanford Turner, Andrew gave his son the best of training that his wit and the circumstances could afford. At all events, on the frontier where the youthful Frederick spent his early life, a heritage of Eastern culture was kept alive amid the rude environment of forest, field and petty village.

Entertaining the ambitions of many a Western boy, the young Frederick first thought of taking up journalism and elocution as a career, but was turned aside to the serious study of history, probably under the influence of his teacher, William F. Allen, and his friend, Reuben Gold Thwaites, head of the State Historical Society. From Wisconsin Turner went to Johns Hopkins University, then the outstanding center for graduate studies in America, and took his doctor's degree, offering a dissertation on the Indian Trade in his native state.

Like the frontier on which Turner was born, Johns Hopkins University must have made its impression on his thinking. In 1890, when he came up for his degree, the historical department was largely dominated by German methodology and by one of the weirdest delusions that have ever afflicted American intellectual life, namely, the Teutonic theory of history—the theory that the Teutonic race has been the prime source of political liberty and popular government and that the roots of Anglo-Saxon democracy are to be traced back to tun-moots of barbarians in the forests of northern Germany. That Turner ever surrendered completely to this form of historical necromancy is highly improbable, but it is not irrelevant to suggest that the idea of German forest liberty is not remote from the idea of frontier liberty in America.

However that may be, Turner went back from Johns Hopkins to teach at the University of Wisconsin, and remained there until 1910, when he accepted a call to Harvard. Owing in no small measure to his influence, during his years at Wisconsin, graduate work in the humanistic studies, especially history, rose to a position of first rank. Though the number of his graduate students was not large, it included several scholars of decided talent, and their indefatigable labor, coupled with that of other students attracted by Turner's thesis, helped to spread his historical conception broadcast in America. It was, in fact, through their publications rather than his own work after 1893 that his thesis was elaborated and disseminated. After delivering his memorable address at Chicago, Turner confined himself to special researches and meticulous mapping of sections. He wrote one volume for the American Nation Series, brought out a collection of his papers in 1920, another in 1930, and left an uncompleted manuscript on the middle period of American history at his death in 1932; but he was far from a voluminous writer. He never added materially to the thought expressed in the Chicago address of 1893, although a revolution was taking place in European historiography between that year and the close of his life. At the age of thirty-two Turner had matured his conception of American history and given it to the world. That was in truth enough for one man to do in a lifetime.

Personally Turner was one of the most modest and diffident scholars ever produced in America. He had none of Macaulay's "oracular arrogance" and he had "the presentiment of eve." The renown that came to him never turned his head. If anything it made him more cautious, and more critical in examining his own work. To students he was generous with his time and strength. With friends he was always genial and eager to share his discoveries. Until the curtain of night fell, he was, like John Richard Green, engaged in the quest of learning. His rounded life was an ornament to American scholarship and to the republic from which it sprang.

The conception of American history which Turner presented at Chicago in 1893 contained twelve major elements: (1) "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development"; (2) "American social development has been continually

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beginning over again on the frontier"; (3) "The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization"; (4) "The frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people"; (5) "The advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England"; (6) "The legislation which most developed the powers of the national government, and played the largest part in its activity, was conditioned on the frontier"; (7) "Loose construction [of the Constitution] increased as the nation marched westward"; (8) "It is safe to say that legislation with regard to land, tariff and internal improvements—the American system of the nationalizing Whig Party—was conditioned on frontier ideas and needs"; (9) "This nationalizing tendency of the West . . . transformed the democracy of Jefferson into the national republicanism of Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson"; "the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. . . . The frontier is productive of individualism"; (10) "So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power"; (11) "The frontier developed the essentially American traits—coarseness and strength, acuteness, inventiveness, restless energy, the masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends"; (12) The closing of the frontier marked the close of "the first period of American history."

Although by the use of the terms "frontier" and "section" Turner lent some countenance to the idea that he was speaking of physical geography rather than social and economic arrangements in particular places and times, in fact in other essays, he made it clear that he had in mind class configurations—not mere forests, fields, cabins and regions. In another essay he said: "We may trace the contest between the capitalist and the democratic pioneer from the earliest colonial days." In a preface to O. G. Libby's work on the distribution of the vote on the Federal Constitution, published in 1907, Turner remarked that the study was a contribution to "an understanding of the relations between the political history of the United States and the physiographic, social and economic conditions underlying this history. . . . The economic interpretation of history has been neglected." In other words, Turner was primarily seeking to discover the economic conditions—including land tenure, opportunity to acquire a livelihood on the land, and hence personal security and independence—which had made possible, conditioned, if not determined, the growth of democracy in the United States.

Turner overemphasized, in my opinion, the influence of frontier economy on the growth of the democratic idea, on the formation of national policies and on constitutional interpretation. My grounds for dissent on this score are set forth in a review of his volume of essays, "The Frontier in American History," which was printed in The New Republic in 1921. It is unnecessary to repeat them here. Since that time other writers—for example, J. C. Almack, B. F. Wright and Louis Hacker—have attacked the general Turner thesis from various angles or vision. And the controversy still rages. To summarize the results would require a volume. To appraise them would be a herculean task.

At the moment, perhaps the most disputed point is the "safety value" theory ascribed to Turner, namely, the theory that cheap land in the West drew off industrial workers from the East, raised or prevented the lowering of wages there, eased the economic tension and slowed down the growth of the labor movement. On this subject hundreds of pages have been written *pro and con. As to the upshot I confess many doubts.* That a vast number of industrial workers personally escaped from "wage slavery" to "freedom" on the frontier does not seem to be established beyond dispute, but what the East would have looked like in 1850, 1870 or 1880 had there been no cheap land in the West is a problem which, I believe, historiography cannot solve. That the freehold farming system of the West did develop a peculiar type of democracy, did profoundly influence the course of American history, it seems to me, is now settled, beyond question, largely through the labors of Turner and his students.

In fact this appears so obvious today that it may be wondered why Turner's paper of 1893 made such a furor. The explanation lies, partly at least, in the kind of histories which we had to read then. Nearly all of them were written in the East and South. We had Bancroft's bedizened history showing how hard God had worked to establish democracy of a thoroughly reputable variety in America. We had Hildreth's dry but realistic history which said relatively little about the West. We had Von Holst's mighty work on the slavery question—which Turner said "is an incident" in the history of the middle period. We had Schouler as an offset to Bancroft, and Alexander Stephens on the one, true and only interpretation of the Constitution. We had a few minor works which, as Henry Jones Ford once said, showed how civilization came into the United States by way of New England. We were, in fine, in the bondage of iniquity and the gall of bitterness—at least in the Middle West where I lived at the time Turner read his address at Chicago in 1893. And in the East the enlightened denizens, besides having their own history done to suit themselves, read in Edward Eggleston's "Hoosier Schoolmaster" that all of us beyond the Alleghenies, if not the Hudson, were almost, if not quite, uncouth savages. It is in some such setting that Turner's work appeared to be little short of epoch-making—as in fact it proved to be, both in conception and technique.

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One of the problems that has always troubled me in this connection is how Turner happened to come upon his conception. When I saw him from time to time I was so interested in the maps he was making or the new materials he had excavated that I never thought to ask him this leading question. He might well have hit upon the idea in Daniel Webster's speeches. Webster on more than one occasion declared that the clue to popular institutions and self-government in America lay in the abundance of cheap land, widely distributed among owners, freed from the military and feudal tenures which bound people to the soil in the Old World. It was this condition, he said, which "fixed" our frame of government and served as the foundation of the Republic from earliest times. When this equality is destroyed and property tends to accumulate in a few hands, Webster reasoned, then either a leveling revolution or a military dictatorship is to be expected. Jefferson also entertained similar views respecting the influence of cheap land on democracy. So did Madison and many other prime thinkers of older times. Was it from them that Turner caught the glimpse which served as a guide to his work? His essay of 1893 does not answer the question.

Another problem that puzzled me in relation to the development of Turner's thesis, as I watched it through the years, was the long neglect of the democratic impulses in Eastern idealism, of the labor movement now so fully treated in the works of John R. Commons and his associates, of the great capitalistic forces so powerful from Alexander Hamilton's day onward, and of the planting system in the South—all conditioning and determining influences in American history, along with agrarian freehold economy. It is fair to say that Turner himself took the broader view, as indicated above, but his essay of 1893 did not reflect it. On the contrary, in that paper he said flatly that free land and the westward advance "explain American development," and his disciples, failing to heed fully his other warnings, overworked this categorical declaration and did not give due space to other features of American civilization, especially the planting and capitalistic aspects. How they could have read the Fathers and missed these considerations is for me among the seven wonders of American historiography.

Likewise overworked, in my opinion, was the "individualism" of the frontier which has been seized upon by James Truslow Adams and others less sophisticated as a stick to beat the New Deal. I knew in my youth pioneers in Indiana who had gone into the country of my birth when it was a wilderness. My early memories are filled with the stories of log-cabin days—of community helpfulness, of coöperation in building houses and barns, in harvesting crops, in building schools, in constructing roads and bridges, in nursing the sick, in caring for widows, orphans and the aged. Of individuals I heard much, of individualism little. I doubt whether anywhere in the United States there was more community spirit, more mutual aid in all times of need, so little expectation of material reward for services rendered to neighbors.

After all, the most powerful socialistic movement that has shaken American politics was the Populist upheaval of the nineties, and it was mainly agrarian in origin and support—and it was in full swing at the very moment when Turner read his essay at Chicago in 1893. It is not impossible that the talk about individualism among intellectuals at that time stemmed from the vogue of Darwinism, Spencerism and Manchesterism rather than from the thoughts of dwellers on the frontier. J. Laurence Laughlin published, in 1884, his mutilated edition of John Stuart Mill from which he omitted all the humanism, while including all the greed and adding more of his own manufacture.

The intellectual atmosphere of 1893 was highly charged. The fight over the income tax was growing hotter. Chicago was entering the throes of a panic. The Pullman strike was only a year off. In a few months Eugene V. Debs was to be outdone by Grover Cleveland's soldiers and then thrown into jail. The Populists had served their notice on the country in 1892, and Bryan's "socialistic" and "communistic" hordes, as Joseph Choate regarded them, were gathering for the fray of 1896. When Turner was formulating his passages on frontier individualism, was he affected only by the historical records of old times and not at all by Darwin, Spencer and the vibrant discussions going on around him? We may legitimately wonder without being able to say positively.

Finally, did the closing of the agricultural frontier really make so much difference as Turner or his disciples imagined? Certainly not enough industrial workers had gone there in the earlier times to prevent business panics, urban poverty, labor unrest and the kind of distress which we have witnessed since 1890—the cabalistic year. Look at the unrelieved misery of 1837 described in Horace Greeley's reminiscences, at the bread riots in New York in 1857 and the strikes that accompanied the depression of 1873-78.

On the whole, industrial labor has been no more violent since the opening of the twentieth century than it was when the mystic frontier was beckoning. During the sorrows of the 1837 panic, citizens in Cincinnati broke open a bank that had shut its doors on depositors and carried off all the movable property they could get their hands on. None of the financial institutions that had looted the country in the grand days of normalcy suffered any such treatment at the hands of outraged customers in the black days of 1933.

The freehold frontier did have a lot of influence on American development, but how much and what kind is still an open question for me. That it does not "explain" American development I am firmly convinced.

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What does explain this development I leave to those who can write history as it actually has been. Yet I have no doubt that the elbowroom we have enjoyed here, the rich treasures we have fallen upon, used and misused, the freehold tenure in agriculture now rapidly declining, and absence of great landlordism from huge sections of the country have given to expressions of human nature in the United States some of the distinctive features which we call American.

CHARLES A. BEARD

New Managers of the Soviet Union

DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS in the Soviet Union many thousands of technical, political and administrative leaders have been removed, on charges of spying or counter-revolutionary activity, arrested and shot. In the iron and steel town of Magnitogorsk in the Urals, the process was fairly typical. The leadership of the Party organization was changed twice. The managers and administrators in the steel mills, railroad, mines, trade unions and commercial organizations were thoroughly sifted twice and the leadership of the local Soviet changed three times.

Naturally it was necessary to replace these departed executives. The problem of finding suitable people was difficult in Magnitogorsk as it was all over the Soviet Union. The general formula emanated from the Politburo itself—"Take Stakhanovites from the shops and mines! Be daring in pushing young patriots forward into leading positions." And this formula was followed in Magnitogorsk. They did not, of course, take workers from machines and make them directors of plants over night. But they did try to find young, enthusiastic, loyal people, who had made good at their jobs, and push them up the ladder a step or two. Here are a few examples of what happened.

Pavel Ivanovich Korobov is in his early thirties. He comes from a line of blast-furnace workers; both his father and grandfather were foremen most of their lives. Pavel's brother is also a metallurgist. The whole family have orders of Lenin, or of the Red Banner; they were received not long ago by Stalin in the Kremlin, and widely publicized in the papers. When anyone wants to give a good example of young fellows making good in big jobs they say, "Look at the Korobovs."

Young Korobov graduated from the Moscow Mining Institute, and then went to a metallurgical plant in the south. Within three years he was manager of the blast-furnace department. He was sent in that capacity to Magnitogorsk in 1936, but within a year was promoted to the post of chief engineer of the whole plant, and then director. At thirty he was in charge of a plant turning out a quarter of all the iron ore, 12 percent of the pig iron and 10 percent of the steel of the whole Soviet Union. The plant, furthermore, was working unsatisfactorily and the whole personnel was being revamped by the NKVD, over which neither Korobov nor anyone else had much influence.

For the first few months the new director worked slowly. He avoided making final decisions when he was not sure of himself. He gave department heads a fairly free rein. Production came up very slightly, and Korobov began to feel a certain confidence. This was at a time when some of the most celebrated plant directors, like Gvaharia of Makeyevka, were getting arrested. Korobov worked tirelessly, studied a great deal and read technical literature from Germany and America. He was well liked by most of those under him, though many of the old engineers had, and still have, little respect for his technological capabilities. Korobov has the Party's backing, and if he does not get into some unforeseen trouble he will probably become a very good director. His main danger is that his rapid climb may make him dizzy; his new experiences and contacts with some of the shady sides of Soviet life may confuse him ideologically. His rapidly expanding field of action may swamp him. New contacts may shake his Marxism and self-assurance, exposing him to doubts and temptations.

A good example of one who was thus influenced is Zavenyagin, director of Magnitogorsk before Korobov. Zavenyagin was Jewish, a couple of years older than Korobov, precise, clever and a Talmudic communist. In addition to all this he was a determined climber. His early career was similar to Korobov's. He went up through the blast-furnace department of a large plant, then became the director of a research institute, and in 1933 was sent to Magnitogorsk as director of the whole plant. He was a candidate for the Central Committee of the Party and considered very promising.

In Magnitogorsk his ego expanded. He became bureaucratic and tyrannical, partly, at least, because of the accidental circumstances of his job. People took such advantage of his youth and inexperience that he had to make himself inaccessible and supreme. Some of the old, experienced engineers in the plant left because they could not work with the little tin god Zavenyagin had become. He got a whiff of power in the plant and in the city of Magnitogorsk and it pleased him. He built himself a new fourteen-room house at a cost of a quarter of a million rubles, and furnished it for half a million; this at a time when the city hospital was situated in temporary wooden barracks, without running water, steam heat or plumbing. He got a firm hold on the plant, and ran it like a Romanov.

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At the time of the arrest of Pyatakov, Zavenyagin was sent to Moscow as the assistant of the Commissar of Heavy Industry. Zavenyagin was the kind of man whom the Party would seem to have every reason to trust and encourage, for he was the son of a poor peddler, educated entirely in Soviet schools, capable, willing and a good politician. He was a typical functionary of the last couple of years, being pushed up into the hierarchy of the Council of People's Commissars from a provincial steel plant. But anyone who knew him well, even in Magnitogorsk, could have guessed that he would not last. The swift climb had turned his head. He had lost contact with the masses and begun to think of himself as a super-being, and of the workers, the masses, as rabble.

Recently Zavenyagin disappeared.

Vassily Sergeyvich Shadrin, a half-Tartar, was made head of one block of the open hearth. He is the son of a nomad, and was taken, almost by the scruff of his neck, and sent to the Institute in 1930. His academic education before then would have compared unfavorably with that of a fourth-grade student in New York. But in those days the doors of the higher schools were wide open to people of his type, with little regard for their academic qualifications. Scholarship was looked on locally as an unnecessary bourgeois attribute.

Shadrin was graduated from the Institute in 1934, and received a diploma as a metallurgical engineer, although he knew very little basic chemistry and even less metallurgy. He had, however, joined the Party, and learned to speak well at meetings.

Shadrin came to Magnitogorsk. He became a foreman in the open-hearth department. He married a pretty Russian girl and was given a room in a stone house. There were twenty square yards of floor space, running water and steam heat. He attended all meetings, paid all membership dues and said all the proper things. He was busy and happy.

Then came the purge. The technical staff of the department was shaken up. Some were arrested, others fired and some just left of their own accord. Shadrin found himself one day the general foreman. A few months later he was head of a whole block. The man whose place he had taken was a metallurgical engineer with ten years' practical experience. Shadrin had two years' experience, and almost no technical knowledge. He felt his responsibility, however, worked very hard, and went out of his way to be fair and decent to everyone. The production of his block was normal or even a little above.

Shadrin is overjoyed. From a nomad he has become a chief. He has living conditions and authority such as he never knew existed. He is given cultural opportunities, theatres, clubs. He feels indebted to the USSR for everything. He knows little about what is going on in other parts of the world. His knowledge of geography is extremely hazy; he has never been a reader and is not particularly interested in classical or modern Western literature. He is happy in his belief that the Soviet system is the best.

Atyasov, twenty-six years old, is secretary of the factory committee of the open-hearth department. He was taken from the cabin of the big ladle crane, where he was an outstanding Stakhanovite, when the purge got the old trade-union functionaries. Now he is pretty much in a fog. He knows dimly what a trade union is, and knows also that the main function of the factory committee is to help the administration reduce costs, increase production, improve quality, etc. He likewise knows that there are certain laws on working conditions, wages, etc., which the administration is supposed to abide by. If they are flagrantly violated, then he, as head of the Zavkom (factory committee), may get a public bawling out, which will be forgotten immediately and will have no after-effects.

Atyasov is the son of a poor peasant, and has had practically no formal education. His handwriting is childish, and he does sums with difficulty. His office is a perfect mess. Papers are strewn all over the place, and he can never find anything. He likes his new job, and is trying his best to please everyone. He goes constantly for help to the Party committee. Here is a *vuidvizhenets* (manager) who is far from the stage of critical uncertainty. He will work hard and with increasing efficiency for years without any political questions.

In giving these four examples I have tried to demonstrate what I believe to be the psychology of the *vuidvizhenets*. Young men and women pushed into new and more responsible positions bring with them vigor, enthusiasm and willingness—which is all to the good. In some cases, perhaps in most cases, they bring insufficient technical qualifications and experience. This is not so good, but at least these deficiencies can be overcome on the job. But when the new power and responsibility go to their heads, or when new contacts and new situations shatter childhood illusions, or when new information and outlook lead to the questioning of some of the fundamental axioms on which Soviet life is built, then it is really serious.

The *vuidvizhentsi* may come out of this uncertain condition convinced and hardened bolsheviks, who ask no questions on matters where a decision has been made, who achieve at all costs the ends decided on. Yezhov, the former head of the GPU, might be mentioned as an example of the type of man who has weathered the storms of uncertainty and come out thoroughly reliable if somewhat fanatical.

However, the mortality is very high. Many *vuidvizhentsi*, in the dizziness caused by their quick climb, encounter questions such as the democracy of elections where there is only one candidate to vote for, and

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from there begin to ferret out other inconsistencies, pick holes in the policies and the ethics of the leaders of the Party and the government. At this point they are likely to fall victim of some Fascist agent, of whom there are still many in the Soviet Union.

But the great majority, in my opinion, will work, develop, learn as they go, ask questions, find answers, and turn into the first-class technicians and administrators who are needed to run a complete political and industrial machine. They are the force that will determine the future of their country.

Moscow JOHN STEVENS

Shall We Fortify Guam?

THE ISLAND OF GUAM has been described by the British naval critic, Hector C. Bywater, as "unique, commanding, and of supreme importance—the veritable key of the Pacific." Strategically speaking, this is not far from the truth—from the standpoint of an American policy determined to defend our position in the Philippines or, in the larger sense, to prevent Japanese expansion southward and the erection of a Japanese maritime empire in the vast concourse of islands lying between Japan proper and the continent of Australia.

In considering a war in the Pacific, all strategy is constrained by the factor of distance. The exercise of naval power anywhere is dependent not only on the possession of adequate fighting strength in ships and planes, but also on the possession of bases enabling the fighting forces to operate freely anywhere within the area which they are intended to dominate. Such bases must possess, according to Mahan, three qualities: strength, position and resources.

They must be strong enough to resist attack by enemy forces in the absence of the fleet. A naval base, and especially one distant from the center of national power, cannot be left unguarded, nor can it be assumed that the fleet itself will guard it. If the admiral must be continually exercised as to the safety of the base upon which his operations depend, his freedom of action will be seriously compromised. Local defenses are of two kinds: those provided by the army, consisting of fixed and mobile guns, mines, mobile troops and aircraft; and those provided by locally based mobile forces of the navy—submarines, aircraft and light surface vessels such as torpedo boats and mine craft. At the present time Guam is wholly undefended save by a detachment of some five hundred Marines, who are not provided with artillery.

In the matter of position, Guam has both advantages and disadvantages. If sufficiently strong, it could provide the American fleet with an excellent point of support for operations in the Western Pacific. It is about 3,400 miles from Hawaii and 1,500 from Manila. The long jump from Hawaii is filled in by two other small islands, Midway and Wake, spaced about equally (though not in a straight line) over the intervening sea. If this line of communications could be maintained and if Guam could be so fortified as to resist initial attack, the operating radius of our fleet would be very considerably extended. It is not too much to say that an American fleet based on Guam could exercise such pressure against Japan's exterior communications as to compel the Japanese either to yield, or to bring their fleet out to fight. Any Japanese movement eastward, toward Hawaii, would be impracticable until Guam had been reduced, because submarines and aircraft based on Guam would menace its communications. By its position, also, Guam interposes between Japan and the Japanese positions in the Caroline and Marshall Islands, making it exceedingly difficult for the Japanese to support any detachments operating there. Finally, a Japanese attack on the Philippines would be seriously impeded by the threat of the arrival at Guam of a superior American fleet.

On the other hand, the position of Guam itself, so far west of our main base at Hawaii, is seriously exposed. It is only 1,400 miles from the principal Japanese home naval base at Yokohama, and 800 miles from the Japanese advance base in the Bonin Islands. The islands of the Japanese "mandated area" surround Guam and aircraft and submarines operating from them would hamper our approach from the east. The sea-route to Guam via Midway and Wake is flanked to the southward by the Marshalls and the Eastern Carolines. The Japanese deny that they are fortifying these islands, and they are prohibited from doing so by the terms of their mandate. Nevertheless they have excluded foreign commerce from the islands for a long time and there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of the repeated reports that they are "conditioning" certain harbors in this region for the use of light naval craft, submarines and seaplanes.

The Japanese navy lays considerable emphasis on the construction of seaplane tenders, of which they possess at least five. A ship of this class has only to drop her anchor in the lagoon of a Pacific atoll to establish there a temporary base capable of supplying and supporting from sixteen to twenty-four large patrol planes. The Japanese are also building a good many minelayers of considerable size and radius of action, whose operations might be very dangerous in these island-studded waters.

In the matter of resources, the principal requirement for a base at Guam would be fuel—heavy oil for the fleet, gasoline for airplanes. Any large fuel-storage

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facilities at Guam would have to be underground, to protect them from air attack. Guam is the best island of Micronesia. It is thirty-two miles long and from six to eight miles wide, with a total area of 225 square miles. Properly developed, it can maintain an air force superior to any which can be assembled at any one of the quite inferior Japanese islands in the general vicinity. But it could not, of course, thereby assure itself against surprise raids, which might arrive from any direction at wholly unexpected moments. As has been repeatedly demonstrated at Barcelona, Valencia and Canton, there is no easier task for bombardment aviation than an attack on a seacoast position. There is little chance of warning, and the retreat of the bombers is comparatively easy after the attack has been delivered. The attack is even easier against an isolated island with enemy positions on every hand.

An attack in force on Guam would probably be launched from the Bonins, about 800 miles away. A considerable force could be assembled there within ten days or two weeks—possibly quicker. The defenders would have to have, first of all, sufficient reconnaissance aircraft to warn of the enemy's approach, and bombing aircraft to attack him when he came within range. The work of these would be supplemented by the operations of submarines. Next, heavy guns commanding the approaches to the harbor of Apra would be needed, and mines to control the entrance channel. A proportion of mobile artillery would be needed to protect other possible landing places (of which there are at least two) and there would have to be an infantry garrison to deal with a landing force which might, despite all this, approach the shore. The support of light artillery and attack aviation would be essential for the infantry. The positions of the fixed guns would need heavy fortification both against ships' artillery and against air bombardment. A strong anti-aircraft force would be essential. The naval station, in addition to fuel storage, should have base facilities for patrol planes, submarines and various types of light surface craft.

The harbor of Apra, though a good one, requires considerable dredging and development to make it available for any number of heavy ships. Food and other supplies will be needed for the garrison, and for the native population of 20,000, no longer so self-supporting as it used to be. Roads would have to be built to facilitate the movement of troops and guns. Finally, Guam will hardly be a tenable position unless some development in seaplane and submarine bases and fuel storage is undertaken at Wake and Midway, which in turn will require at least enough in local defenses to beat off raiding cruisers or single squadrons of aircraft.

These details show that a present decision, and the appropriation of money, to fortify Guam cannot be translated into an actual base there for two or three years—perhaps more. The question immediately arises, what would be the political repercussions of such a policy? What will be going on, particularly in Japan, while we are engaged in putting Guam in a state of defense—or, from the Japanese point of view, creating there a defensive springboard for offensive operations in the Western Pacific?

At the moment the Japanese are pretty well involved in China. But will they continue to be so for two years, or three? In any case, their major naval strength—their First and Second Fleets, corresponding roughly to our Battle Force and Scouting Force, have been little involved in the Chinese struggle. Of course their national resources have been strained; they are unlikely to start a war with us unless they think they have to. Will the beginning of fortifications at Guam make them think so? Or will the continuance of this work gradually incite them to fighting pitch during the long period which must elapse before its completion?

The decision to fortify Guam, or not to fortify it, is bound up with the broader question of what our policy in the Far East is going to be. It would be difficult to find a better example of the interlocking character of military and foreign policy, which requires the former to be adequate to support the latter, while requiring the latter not to go beyond the bounds of the former's ability so to support it.

Are we going to stay in the Philippines? Will the American people defend the Philippines against Japan, whether our flag continues to fly there or not? In a wider field, are we now determined, or will we become determined to stop the Japanese advance southward into the Dutch East Indies and toward Australia, either in coöperation with the British or alone? Can we afford to see the erection in these islands of what Walter Lippmann calls a "great Japanese maritime empire"?

This Japanese southward push has long been the prize objective of Japanese naval thought, just as the advance on the Asiatic mainland has been the darling of the army. If the Japanese consolidate their hold on a whole or a part of China, they will have additional resources for the naval part of the program. If they fail to do so, but come off without serious disaster, the navy may be in a position to say "Let's save face by trying it our way." In either case, and especially if we cut off American supplies of fuel oil—thus making the possession of the Dutch East Indies a *sine qua non* for a military Japan—we may see within the next few years some such southward movement.

The time necessary to put the island in a state of defense will be a period of danger, though something could be done immediately by the dispatching of more Marines, with base defense and anti-aircraft artillery, and the hasty construction of air-base facilities, to impose a certain amount of delay in case of a Japanese attack—perhaps as much as two weeks.

It all comes down to this: what policy toward Japanese expansion in Asia and the adjacent islands does

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this country mean to follow? Is the risk of war now to be taken rather than risk a war with a more powerful Japan later on? Can we make a reasonably permanent peace with Japan which will enable us both to live side by side in the Pacific without clashing? Or must we accept the lesser risk to avoid being confronted with the greater?

It indeed requires the abilities of a prophet to answer all these questions at this time. Certainly, the fortification of Guam, the existence there of any considerable striking force or the facilities for such a force, would make somewhat easier the operations incident to a war with Japan. But merely beginning these fortifications might precipitate such a war.

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

Human Rights with Cream

ALTHOUGH the Supreme Court has established itself as second only to the American Civil Liberties Union as the guardian of our freedom, there remain here and there a few skeptics who persist in the outworn notion that those Nine Old Men are still in there pitching for the Privileged Classes. Such critics can hardly be familiar with Kellogg Company, Petitioner, v. National Biscuit Company, in which, on November 14, last, the Supreme Court struck an epochal blow for liberty. If the American people would pay less attention to Half Truths and more to cases like Kellogg Company, Petitioner, v. National Biscuit Company, this argument about the liberalism of the Supreme Court would be ended once and for all, and ended right.

It seems that the National Biscuit Company, which in 1930 took over the Shredded Wheat Company, became annoyed when it found out that the Kellogg Company, which everybody thought was quietly rolling out corn flakes, was making shredded wheat in what the Supreme Court graphically describes as the "pillow-shaped biscuit." National Biscuit brought suit for damages on the ground of "unfair competition." The patents on the original shredded wheat ("Tell Me What You Eat and I Will Tell You What You Are") had expired, but National Biscuit insisted that the name "Shredded Wheat" was a trade name for which it had paid a good round sum and that the "pillow shape" was part of the "good will" which went with the business. The case bounced about in the federal courts for ten years until Mr. Justice Brandeis and six of his colleagues gave it the *coup de grace* last November.

In its decision the Supreme Court enunciated a principle of law which ought to reverberate through the land but which up to now has received very little attention. Shredded wheat, the Supreme Court ruled, is not private property but "has been dedicated to the public," pillow-shaped biscuit and all. The Kellogg Company, the Court went on, "*like every other member of the public*, was and remained free to make shredded wheat when it chose to do so, and to call the product by its generic name." Thus shredded wheat belongs to the ages, and the Bill of Rights takes a long deferred front seat in the cereal-products business.

The public may lack here and there a few rights, but none can take from it the right to "make shredded wheat when it chooses to do so." Even Mr. Justice Black, though strictly a hominy-grits man himself, stuck with the majority on this central point. Justices McReynolds and Butler, to be sure, dissented on the ground that "the Kellogg Company is fraudulently seeking to appropriate to itself the benefits of a good will built up at great cost by the respondent (National Biscuit) and its predecessors." And the Court was a little shaky as to the defendant's right to use as an advertisement a picture of two pillow-shaped biscuits in a saucer of cream. By and large, however, Human Rights have again prevailed over Property Rights, and when the American Housewife combs out her week's supply of shredded wheat, she ought to give gratitude where it is due, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Addicts of *obiter dicta* might observe that, if National Biscuit had had more faith in the fundamental liberalism of the Supreme Court, they would have started making shredded wheat long ago instead of buying another company in order to do it. That is the kind of thing that happens when one loses sight of great principles like "Shredded Wheat belongs to mankind."

FREDERIC NELSON

The Ersatz Bread

Unlike the honest demagogues of old
Who kept the masses entertained and fed
By spending large amounts of public gold
On free-for-nothing circuses and bread,
The Führer, though he gives them five-ring shows
Makes all his subjects pay—and through the nose.

And when his one-man circus starts to pall,
When here and there the hungry masses mutter,
"The show is swell but really after all
We'd like it better with some bread and butter,"
He soon persuades them all with Loving Force
They'd best forget that bread-and-butter course.

"Hate," he ordains, "shall be your food and drink;
Hatred of Reds, of Jews, of foreign lands
Stirs up the mind but doesn't make you think,
Warms up the blood and stimulates the glands.
"Hate to your fill, but when you think you're through
You'll always find more room to hate a Jew."

Ah, how his works outmiracle the Lord!
The histrionic, hate-dispensing Hitler
Without importing foodstuffs from abroad,
Like Christ can feed a crowd without a victualler;
For each poor lamb is nourished from within
Upon his own home-brewed adrenalin.

SLATER BROWN

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Shoot the Works

Thin Skins

TO PUT IT IN ITS SIMPLEST TERMS, the modern newspaper publisher and his representatives can dish it out but cannot take it. Indeed even some of the commentators seem to reflect this point of view. For instance, in a recent column Westbrook Pegler, in all seriousness apparently, asserted that the President was laying plans for dictatorship by attacking the fairness of the American press. And, of course, the screams which greeted the radio debate between Harold Ickes and Frank Gannett are still echoing along the editorial alleys.

It was a little startling to see on the same day a defense of complete newspaper impartiality running on the same page with an essay by George E. Sokolsky, whose outside connections were spread upon the record by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. And in another New York newspaper a ringing defense of the complete factuality of the press stood cheek by jowl with a syndicated column by Boake Carter. Even in the chaste cloisters of The New York Times Arthur Krock contended that American newspapers have been extremely fair to the New Deal. Apparently Mr. Krock has already forgotten the part he played in fastening a hearsay whimsy on Harry Hopkins.

Back in the muckraking days, Colonel Roosevelt was attacked almost as savagely as his fifth cousin, with the exception that the editors of his generation did not get after him by blasts against the members of his family. He replied in kind and the war was furious. But I cannot remember that even during his Bull Moose foray any publisher demanded the right of sanctuary and maintained that it was improper for a President to slam back at his critics. Indeed it seems to me that the old-fashioned editors were wiser than the young men who have rushed in to take their places. The crusaders never expected the Saracen against whom they rode to take it on the chin without a struggle. A man like Scripps or Pulitzer rode out in somewhat the mood of Richard the Lion-Hearted and he was disappointed if he found no Saladin to furnish a moving target for his battle-axe. Indeed some of the pioneers of the American press kept a horsewhip handy for both defense and attack. Often the strife was intra-mural. But it has been years since anybody has flogged a publisher, more's the pity. There ought to be an ancient adage, "Spare the buggy whip and spoil the editor."

And it does seem to me that a great many American editors are spoiled, or certainly moving rapidly to that condition. Aside from a lack of actual physical encounters, there is a growing decrease in that competition by which a capitalist world renews and refreshes itself. The one-paper town is beginning to bob up all over the country and quite often in cities of fair size. And in certain other communities both papers are under the same ownership. As yet there is less centralization of power than exists in England, but the danger of at least semi-monopoly is something more than a pipedream.

Surely, there is no industry in which anything approaching unified control is more menacing. The editor who finally gets an entire field to himself probably had to fight and struggle hard to attain that eminence. But once he gets to the top there is great temptation to sit and loaf. The situation in which nobody can beat you on a story may be Heaven for the proprietor but it is certainly hell for the reader. And the threat of dictatorship lies in this centering of control of the press rather than in any attacks made by the President of the United States or the Secretary of the Interior.

If publishers were more alert to their own interests they would develop within their own organization a far greater amount of self-criticism. It is quite true that at conventions and banquets resolutions are passed in which proprietors pledge themselves to "service," but when some confrere violates the canons of sound journalistic practice very little is said about it.

Naturally newspaper owners must know that there is a growing skepticism on the part of the public as to the fairness of the American press. And I doubt if many of them actually think that it is rooted wholly in sharp comments by President Roosevelt or any other spokesman for the New Deal. The evidences of this distrust were plain long before the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt. In fact I think that Warren Gamaliel Harding, in the boom days of Teapot Dome, may have done much to diminish the respect in which the public holds the press.

Smart publishers should not spend too much time in arguing as to the causes of the disaffection or even in arguing whether the skeptics are logical or utterly unjust. The real point every proprietor should face is, "Where do we go from here?" And it seems to me that instead of shouting down criticism, from whatever quarter, it ought to be encouraged. I do not suggest that unwarranted attacks ought to be received in humility, but every answer to an attack ought to contain the postscript "Now that you know the way, please come again."

Letters from the reader are an excellent tonic. It seems to me that The New York World-Telegram was wise in printing a whole shower of brickbats which came after its reply to Ickes. At the time this is written, the bouquets seem to have been distinctly a minority opinion. But all too often an editor feels that he has done his full duty of taking the public into his confidence by printing one letter of praise and one of blame and then sitting back and saying in effect, "What a fair boy am I." There is no indication in most cases as to what the prevailing sentiment may have been.

And an example of what seems to me editorial indolence is the fact that so many papers now go to an outside agency to ascertain the trend of public opinion. There was a day in which every great editor was his own Dr. Gallup. He didn't have to buy the syndicate rights to a service to ascertain what his readers were thinking. He felt that such surveys were his own business.

And so it seems to me that the entire press of the nation should abandon immediately the position that the press is something above criticism. American publishers need a shot in the arm. They should even find it refreshing to get a kick in the pants. A rubber-stamp Congress may be an evil thing, but a rubber-stamp press is still more dangerous to democracy.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

Mr. Wallace Inches Along

THE RECOMMENDATION of the board headed by Admiral Hepburn to create a base for airplanes, submarines and destroyers at Guam seems to have been a plain mistake, something that happens in the best regulated governments. The board's report was not supposed to be made public without editing by the House Naval Affairs Committee. It had not been shown to the State Department and had not been discussed by top-flight New Dealers. The report itself states, moreover, that the recommendation for the Guam base is merely tentative and that a decision must first be taken on whether, as a matter of national policy, this country wishes to defend the Philippines.

The red ears among administration officials over the report's publication do not mean a lessening of hostility towards Japan. The New Deal remains quite as anti-Japanese as General Chiang Kai-shek himself. But a Guam base could cut directly across the plan, undoubtedly cherished by a section of the New Deal, for economic sanctions against Japan. To create a small-sized Singapore at Guam would require a vast amount of money, and a long period of time, from five to ten years. It could not be built quickly enough to have an effect in the present crisis. On the other hand, it would be taken by Tokyo as proof of our will to become a western Pacific power, able to confront Japan in her home waters. As a threat, it would be at once weaker and more terrifying than an economic boycott. Now that the issue has been raised, the administration does not wish to seem to back down before Japanese protests, but a long delay is likely before the Guam fortifications are begun.

Secretary Wallace's program for domestic dumping is making progress, if at a tortoise's speed. Last autumn it was reported in these Notes that the program was half-lost in a pea-soup fog of farm politics, and this is still true. However, its popular tag, "the two-price system"—meaning a special low price for the bottom third of the nation—has been repudiated by Mr. Wallace, which is a gain in candor. For a brief period, a few of the Department of Agriculture experts toyed with the idea of a separate low-income distribution system for food and clothing, but the plan seems never to have got past the idea stage.

At present the program is split into four distinct sub-programs. Of these, probably the most important is that for milk, which involves no government subsidy and strictly speaking is not dumping at all. The Department of Agriculture is endeavoring to persuade the authorities of large cities to establish fixed distribution points where, in the early morning hours, families can buy milk at eight cents a quart. In the future it is hoped to lower this price still further. Essentially, what the Department is trying to do is to set up a simpler distribution system than that provided by the big dairy companies. Delivery costs are eliminated, and labor and ice costs cut to the bone. This service was first established by a private enterpriser in Detroit, and has since been taken up by the authorities of New York City and Boston. Since it does not compete directly with the doorstep service provided by the big dairy companies, it leaves unanswered the question of whether—as many critics believe—the companies' profits are unjustifiably high.

Another sub-program consists of an attempt to reduce distribution costs of certain commodities when temporary surpluses appear. Here again no subsidy is given. From the beginning of the New Deal, the Department of Agriculture has been endeavoring to clean up big-city food markets, where costs are considered to be much too high, partly because of sheer inefficiency, partly because of racketeering. Last autumn, Department representatives called together producers, middlemen and retailers of grapefruit, of which a surplus threatened, and asked them jointly to shave costs to a point where the crop could be moved. A high degree of coöperation was obtained. In many parts of the country, grapefruit have been offered to consumers at the lowest price in years. Similar efforts have been made to move pears, eggs and several other foods. The big grocery chains, terrified by anti-chain-store legislation, have been specially amenable to the Department's suggestions—a circumstance that has provoked criticism from neighborhood grocers.

The two remaining sub-programs involve federal subsidies, and constitute genuine domestic dumping. Both are still in the discussion stage. It is proposed to provide midday meals throughout the big-city public-school systems. As most readers know, the National Youth Administration has attempted to do this for high-school children from relief families during the last two years. It is also proposed to have Surgeon-General Parran, on the basis of recent surveys by his bureau of Public Health Service, designate regional areas of widespread malnutrition, and within those areas distribute food either free, or at special prices, to low-income families. This, again, would be following a pattern set by the Surplus Commodities Corporation and the WPA. Both schemes show a high degree of social imagination.

The outsider can only guess at the reasons for the Department's slowness in developing its schemes. A possible explanation is that the Department is primarily concerned with farmers, rather than malnourished consumers. Unhappily, neither school children nor low-income families can arrange to eat just those farm products of which surpluses exist, nor arrange to be hungry only when future surpluses develop. Consequently, domestic dumping cannot directly solve the Department's most pressing headaches.

One of the members most worth watching at this session of Congress will be Mr. Edouard Victor Michel Izac of San Diego, California. With Mr. Robert G. Allen of Pennsylvania, he is the only man from the old liberal bloc of last session to have a place on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, within which changes in the Neutrality Act must be decided. A former lieutenant-commander of the United States Navy, he has special knowledge of the nature of war. He says that this country can only be drawn into war by trade disputes, opposes any relaxation of the present Neutrality Act and would like to see its discretionary clauses made mandatory. He is, however, a devoted follower of the President and does not dissent from Mr. Roosevelt's defiance of the dictator countries. If any of them threatens our security, he would gladly support an economic boycott directed against it.

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Mr. Izac's father left France when Napoleon III proclaimed himself emperor, because, as Mr. Izac explains, he just didn't like dictators. His maternal grandfather was a Prussian cavalry officer, who became a political exile after the 1848 disturbances. Like his fellow member in last session's liberal bloc, Mr. Maury Maverick, Mr. Izac has a remarkable war record. He was second officer of the navy transport "President Lincoln" when it was struck by three German torpedoes off France. After his commanding officer was killed, Izac went down with his ship, was taken prisoner by the attacking U-boat and carried back to Germany. After four months in a succession of prison camps, he and another American officer escaped, crawled halfway across Germany, swam the Rhine and regained the Allied lines. During his term as prisoner, a German guard beat him savagely with a rifle butt, inflicting injuries that caused his retirement from the navy in 1921. He holds the Congressional Medal.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Mad Money

THERE WAS a priceless note in The New York Times's account of Mr. Amadeo Giannini's entrance into the SEC offices last week for the hearing on his Transamerica Corporation. Mr. Giannini, we were told by the reporter, breezed in laughing gayly and confidently, in the best of humor. To Mr. Donald Richberg, his counsel, he said: "Ah, Mr. Richberg, I am glad to see you are angry this morning." Mr. Richberg had indeed been very angry—angry at the outrageous flouting of the rights of his rich and powerful client by the wicked Securities and Exchange Commission. He had only come suddenly into the case. A day or two before nothing sat so easily upon Mr. Richberg's moods as the Transamerica Corporation. But having just been retained, his natural sense of justice became immediately aroused and, though Mr. Giannini, the intended victim of the hearing, laughed heartily, Mr. Richberg was in a passion.

There was something charming about this scene in which the gay-hearted millionaire had hired the lawyer to be angry for him. The episode loses nothing from the fact that since Mr. Richberg was a dauntless crusader for the forgotten man he has managed to become angry for all sorts of millionaires lately. He will go into a passion for so much per gust. Doubtless in proper circumstances he will weep—weep for some of those same persecuted royalists to whom he brought so many tears in the past. But they do not have to weep any more or grow angry. Mr. Richberg will do their weeping and their indignating. And he gets many chances. He is still a frequent visitor to the White House and, apparently, one of the White House advisers on the monopoly investigation. If you are an outraged royalist it is nice to know your counsel is up sipping tea with the Skipper himself. However, one cannot go on crying and pouring out wrath forever for feeless forgotten men. One cannot forever shed "idle tears" when the tears can be put to work and made to pay dividends. It's just as well to run one's anger through a meter.

Incidentally, what is all this shooting for? Mr. Giannini has done a nice job for himself in keeping quiet the affairs of Transamerica. He has urged that his company be exempt from regulations respecting holding companies. There is a law which requires all corporations seeking either the issuance of new securities or the listing of old ones to submit to the regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission. This means also the inquiry into the affairs of the corporation. But apparently Mr. Giannini thinks this law does not apply to him and his big holding company. He has seemed to enjoy very friendly relations with the former Comptroller of the Currency, who hailed from California. And the Federal Reserve Board has dealt very kindly with him, as well as the RFC which shelled out a hundred millions to keep him afloat.

In the past there has been criticism of the bookkeeping and accounting methods of the Transamerica Corporation and Mr. Giannini, its master. At one time, for instance, Mr. Giannini reported to his stockholders a profit of $96,000,000. Later, when the corporation was doing some financing, the prospectus put out by the bankers put the profits of that year, according to public accountants, at $67,000,000. Why the difference? Is this one of the things the SEC will undertake to unravel? As I recall it, even the $67,000,000 profit (nearly $30,000,000 less than Mr. Giannini's first report) was subjected to certain modifying reservations in the prospectus which still further reduced it.

At all events here is a situation which we cannot afford to leave unexamined for the sake of the public, the banking system and the stockholders themselves. This man is the most industrious advocate of spreading out branch banking to national proportions. He has labored to bring about branch banking extending to Federal Reserve districts. If this is accomplished, Giannini or others will soon have branch-banking systems in every Reserve district united into single national systems by means of holding companies.

Congress with universal approval drove the bank affiliates out of existence. There is actually no difference between a bank affiliate and a bank holding company so far as sound banking is concerned. The bank affiliate is a corporation which can carry on non-banking enterprises and engage in practices forbidden to banks, but it belongs to the same stockholders as the bank. In the case of Transamerica we have banks on one side and all sorts of speculative, promotional, industrial, finance corporations belonging to the same stockholders as the banks on the other.

If Congress wants to know what the bank holding company is in fact and how dangerous it is, let the banking committee call some of the leading American bankers and ask their opinion privately.

If William O. Douglas is allowed to present his case against the Transamerica, Congress will get an opportunity to see what holding company banking is. If Giannini, with the aid of Mr. Donald Richberg and his New Deal connections, is able to block the SEC investigation, then it is the duty of Congress to make a legislative investigation.

Talking with various business men—economic royalists and their fellow travelers—I have been a little surprised to

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find them full of misgivings about the proposed relief cut by Congress. They are the kind of people who clamor for balanced budgets and for cutting expenditures, but they seem to realize that this cut means perhaps taking a million men off relief. If it does, they ask, "Can we stand that?"

The answer, of course, is that we cannot. The spending policy of the government has been unaccompanied by any integrated policies to produce recovery. But now those who would cut expenditures are equally without an integrated program. We cannot just cut expenditures. There must be a program of recovery in which government expenditures form a part, but only a part. And if they are to be cut, then they are to be cut merely as one phase of a general plan. But the rest of any such plan is completely missing from the kit-bag of the reductionists. JOHN T. FLYNN

Whose Theatre Is This?

FROM WHERE I'm sitting it is not possible to see how real is the contribution to joy and laughter of the FTP's swing version of "The Mikado," now playing Chicago with a colored company. But sight unseen, one will get you ten that it is nearer to Gilbert and Sullivan than anything in our generation.

The tradition of "The Mikado" and all the rest has become so stylized and cultish, so like the exhibition of relics, that it is easy to forget how quick and top-of-the-morning they were in the time of their first run. We forget that they were popular in the best musical-comedy sense; that they were not made to be mummified and memorized but to go up in their theatre minute like fireworks, with dazzle and bang. The forced laughter, the jealous antiquarianism, the equal veneration of the good and the terrible which mark the 32nd-degree member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Gilbert and Sullivan—all this contemporary lah-dee-dah scares the citizens, forbids trespassing and paves the way for such anachronisms as the D'Oyly Carte Company—who have been so busy playing both up and down to their peculiar audience for so long that they have naturally overlooked the news, how said G. and S. authors may have died, but their work could not have been buried with them and still be put on in the theatre: the sepulchre is empty. Some of the D'Oyly Carte principals have a seasoned way of putting over their lines here and there. And I suppose the handicaps of a steady road show may account for the fact that you never see the curtain go up without assuming that if the moths don't come flying out it's because they've got too sleepy. But no one with the energy to throw himself clear out of joint in order to get the audience laugh started before the point of the joke is even mentioned, has any right to claim asylum by saying: "I'm very authentical, quasi-historical—don't hit a corpse when it's down."

And I claim that no claim to the Gilbert-and-Sullivan memory will ever make a chorus out of a dozen very assorted but uniformly horsey females making passes at a time-step with the sort of leggy indecision that has your heart in your mouth over which is going to fall first, they or the stage. And that no pit band can be called a band without laughing when they are obviously hired by a leader who has called Local 802 and said: "Send over three violins, a piano and a cornet and they've got to be able to read and no rehearsal time, you hear?" But on the other hand, no one who remembers, say, the ringing stage of "Strike up the Band" or the black line of men coming up behind Fred Astaire in the movie "Top Hat" can overlook the massed possibilities in our day of this stage intricately crowded with its light, color, drive and a shouting chorus.

Outsde of the plot, which was never expected to do more than creak, and outside of the music, which is simply a good common carrier for the book (Sullivan is rarely singable apart from the show), these droll and exquisite humors pass beyond the anchorage of time and reference into an immortal kind of bright nonsense, head and shoulders above everything of the kind in their feathery cutting edge and innocent merriment. Yet it seemed we would never be able to realize such things, what with this air of amateur theatricals and this snob audience of people banging their heavy hands before a key line to show they recognize its imminence, chortling and humming and beating time to the complete mortification of key and signature, stopping the show at every entrance and holding it up for weary encores of every chorus, and generally falling out of their seats at the most venerable wheezes in the ham actor's repertory.

Now with the Federal Theatre translating the surface accouterments into current terms, we may hope that this audience will be horrified into staying away. The Chicago company seems to be doing fine and in New York a show is being arranged by the great Fletcher Henderson. Neither of them may turn out to be ideal, but the important thing is in the new approach—the return to Gilbert and Sullivan for the living stage qualities that are eternally there.

Theatre Arts Monthly has published a symposium of don'ts for theatre architects, tied up particularly with the competition for the designing of a festival theatre in Williamsburg. Theatre Arts has gone to everybody from actors to Orson Welles, including the Lunts (Miss Fontanne's contribution to theatre design was a list of specifications for the star's dressing room), Lee Simonson, Robert Edmond Jones and various other authorities up to the number of seventeen. Most of them are concerned with lighting and stage facilities; two of them mention "sight lines" and there is brief reference to the fact that the auditorium floor should "slope." The thing is fascinating, as is anything where people talk shop and forget poses; but where the hell is the audience all this time? They talk about illusion and various elaborate ways of achieving it by electric, mechanical and acoustic perfection, but when you're sitting in a theatre, where is your illusion when the bald head in front cuts into the stage picture like a coal barge?

From the time it is shoved around at the box office to the time it finds its "center" seats are going to result in a permanent crick in its neck, the audience is given to understand that it can go to the devil. New York is certainly the home of the theatre, yet in these overheated, overstuffed, ill ventilated little bearpits the dumb public pays its $1.10 to $4.40 to sit craning around or looking through the back of its own head (barring a few critics' seats, you are absolutely at the mercy of anyone your own height or higher—you expect and get better vision at a heavyweight fight or ball game.) And now come the experts on design with never a hint that the whole set-up is an antiquated and shamelessly commercial imposition as far as seeing the play is

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concerned. I suppose they are right. I suppose the dopes with their money in their hands don't worry enough about illusion to want to see it. Mr. Welles in fact goes so far as to say "seats should not be too far apart or too comfortable, as the audience must be made to sit up" (speak for your own productions, Orson—though you did pretty good on the radio once, comfortable or not). But I for one am constantly harried out of full appreciation by heads, hats, heat and the general atmosphere and manners of the subway after work. Let the technicians yell about grid-heights, aprons, counterweights and decibels, for no doubt the patient art lovers will love right on. But I am submitting, approving and picking for first prize my design for the Ferguson Auditorium, which consists of just one big sofa and me in it, and as a signal for curtain time I will fire in the air six shots from an old army repeater and pronounce the words: Get them hats off, girls, they sure are awful. The big movie companies show their pictures to critics in projection rooms where a few people sit in armchairs, quietly. The movies may be dumb and are certainly vulgar; but they are not fifty years behind their time.

OTIS FERGUSON

The Bandwagon

While he left no illusions as to the country's preparedness against modern attack and emphasized the demand that it become so, Mr. Roosevelt explained that "calling attention to these facts does not remotely intimate that the Congress or the President has any thought of taking part in another war on European soil." He insisted that "the young men of this nation should not be compelled to take the field with antiquated weapons." – *From a news item in The New York Times.*

History, oft repeated, reveals America as a refuge for true liberty. Page 1.

Tom Mooney, in prison twenty-two years, is pardoned. Page 5. – *Two successive items in the News Summary in The Chicago Tribune.*

Dr. Bruening said "Cells have been lined with electric-light bulbs, so that a prisoner feels as though he were dying of thirst. At the same time he is forced to listen continually to recorded speeches of Goering.

"Very few people can stand that for more than three or four months." – *Former Chancellor Heinrich Bruening, of Germany, quoted in The New York World-Telegram.*

"What a Whale of a Difference . . ."

Ludwig: Do you really believe, as some ethnologists contend, that there are still pure races in Europe? . . .

Mussolini: Of course there are no pure races left; not even the Jews have kept their blood unmingled. Successful crossings have often promoted the energy and beauty of a nation. Race! It is a feeling, not a reality; 95 percent, at least, is a feeling. Nothing will ever make me believe that biologically pure races can be shown to exist today.

Ludwig: Whenever things go awry in Germany, the Jews are blamed for it. Just now we are in exceptionally bad case!

Mussolini: Ah, yes, the scapegoat! – *From the book, "Talks with Mussolini," by Emil Ludwig (1933).*

Non-Sequitur Department

But a career in fiction did not appeal to him. So he joined Lord Beaverbrook and became editor of The Daily Express. – *Beverly Baxter, described by Thomas C. Linn in The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

A Communication

Open Letter to Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen

SIR: I address this letter to you for three reasons. First, there is no one who has occupied more deservedly than yourself a high place among the leaders of liberal Catholic thought in America. As a graduate of the University of Louvain, winner of the Cardinal Mercier prize in philosophy and author of a series of distinguished works in metaphysics and ethics, you have been probably the foremost American upholder of the great Scholastic tradition. Second, some years ago, I had a slight but very pleasant personal contact with you on the occasion of my reviewing your "God and Intelligence"—a work which I thought then and still think a remarkably able defense of the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Third, and most important, I, like hundreds of other American liberals, have been profoundly shocked by your recent emphatic stand in support of the anti-liberal, anti-democratic and anti-American regime of General Franco in Spain. If these words sound extreme, they are not mine but General Franco's in the interview reported in O'Seculo, May, 1938, when he referred to "the common enemy: Asiatic bolshevism and all its allies, democracy, liberalism and Freemasonry"—or they are those of Pemartin, Minister of Education, in his official work, "Que Es 'Lo Nuevo'?" (What Is the New?) in which he refers to the United States as a negligible foe already suffering "under the moral depression of the defeat which Japan will inflict upon them." The authors of those words seem strange bedfellows for an American liberal.

I venture to hope that you will not avoid the issue, as some of your colleagues in the Keep-the-Embargo movement have done, by advancing the cheap evasion that you are merely neutral. You must admit that, at the time the embargo was passed, Italy and Germany were pretending to observe the Non-Intervention Agreement; that that pretense has long since been abandoned; that American supplies and munitions have reached and are reaching the Spanish Fascists via Germany and Italy; and that, in the most practical sense, just as lifting the embargo would admittedly benefit the Loyalists, so keeping it benefits the Fascists. All this is too obvious to discuss. I therefore assume that your theories and practice are in harmony at least to the extent that you support the cause of General Franco in theory as you actually support it in practice.

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Your position has been taken in the name of "religious freedom." No phrase is dearer to the hearts of Americans. We have not forgotten the bloody struggle through several centuries to achieve that ideal nor that the ideal was first fully realized on American soil and was first embodied with full effectiveness in the Constitution of the United States. And we mean by the phrase not only something very dear but something very definite. We mean religious freedom *for all*, not merely for some particular group, whether Catholic or Protestant. Is that what you, also, mean by it? And we mean further that our conception of religious freedom carries with it as a necessary corollary to make it effective the absolute separation of Church and State. Do you also mean that?

The reason for asking these questions will be perfectly clear to you. As you know, in rebel Spain there is religious freedom for Catholics only and Catholicism is the established state religion. You are doubtless familiar with the official statement by Pemartin which reads: "The Spanish state must be Catholic. . . . No public worship of any other religion will be permitted. . . . It is said by some, including well intentioned Catholics, that the opinions of others must be tolerated and respected. We emphatically reject this assertion." Does Pemartin's statement—the official statement of the Franco government—express your idea of religious freedom?

You are probably also familiar with Father Thorning's jubilant dispatch to the Catholic Tablet (Brooklyn): "The Nationalist [Franco] government has decreed that all State school-teachers must be Catholics." Does that, too, express your idea of religious freedom?

It is surely not discourteous to point out that these are Catholics. Put very bluntly—but this is a time for plain speaking—what liberal Protestants insist upon knowing is whether some of our professedly liberal Catholic friends, including yourself, give more than lip-service to the American principle of the separation of Church and State (which is also an accepted principle in the Loyalist Spanish Republic). The unpleasant suspicion will not down that some of them—by no means all—support it only as a strategic measure when they are in a minority and that they really mean by "religious liberty" liberty for no one but Catholics. In other words, that their—and your—liberalism is a matter of policy, not of conviction. How otherwise explain your attack on Nazi-fascism in Germany and Italy where it is opposed to the Church and your defense of the same Nazi-fascism in Spain when it happens to favor the Church?

This unpleasant suspicion among Protestants will not be removed by any Coughlinesque atrocity stories. (How it must please you to have your formerly honored name coupled—and alas, rightly coupled—with that of a Coughlin!) Atrocities there have doubtless been on both sides, even as in our own Civil War. The Loyalists at the beginning shot certain priests who were hostile to them, and recently Franco has shot eighteen Basque priests hostile to him. But the Loyalists have not bombed unfortified towns and civilian refugee trains. You will not deny, I think, that in proportion to every priest killed by the Loyalists the Fascists have killed a hundred women and children. Just how many women and children does it take to equal one priest? I should suppose it to be something less than a hundred. So pray drop the atrocity stories where you are on the weakest ground of all, and speak to the points I have raised, the real issues.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

New York City

Correspondence

Of Educated Catholics

SIR: In my own experience as a lay teacher in a Catholic college I found that well educated Catholics automatically dislike official Marxism because it posits official atheism, in itself a sort of state religion; that they dislike fascism for the same reason. They are amused, rather than anything else, by the naïve paternalism of the Legion of Decency, although they perhaps take some malicious pleasure in the supersensitive venality it has disclosed in the Goldwynians. They condemn Hague and are deeply worried over Father Coughlin, who is known to be in direct defiance to his superiors for his distortions of the encyclicals on labor and his scurrilous irresponsibility. They all like American democracy; they never let themselves forget why their fathers came to America. Sir Thomas More is a special hero of intelligent Catholics, to many of whom his ideal of Christian socialism is more than a literary pleasantry; they know that completely communal living was the economic system of the first Christians and has persisted ever since in the monastic communities. (See Maritain's "Freedom in the Modern World" for an analysis of the extent and "sacredness" of property rights.) Intelligent Catholics take remarkably little part in the secular activities of Catholic Action (as any Catholic leader would ruefully admit), apparently because they believe that the farther the Church stays from politics the better. They are perfectly able to read history. It is strange that Mr. Lehmann is so little conversant with this numerous class of Catholics.

These maladroit articles ["The Catholic Church in Politics"] will prove to have destroyed much of the respect for The New Republic which was in evidence in this select and powerful group. As for the Catholic red-baiters, they will very likely find occasion to turn their attacks on The New Republic.

Shelburne, Mass. JOHN B. FRIEND

On the Chicago Picket Line

SIR: Just a few words from the firing line where more than 500 members of the Chicago Newspaper Guild are now in the seventh week of their strike against William Randolph Hearst's Chicago Herald and Examiner and Chicago Evening American.

Formation of an AF of L Committee to Aid the Guild Strike, an intermediate report to the National Labor Relations Board that branded the management guilty of violating the Wagner Act in its attempts to smash the Guild, and increasing national support of our strike are among recent developments.

George E. Axtelle, professor of Education at Northwestern University and national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, heads the AF of L group. The secretary is Merle D. Simpkins of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16. The committee has more than fifty members.

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The New World, official publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, of which His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein is spiritual leader, carried a comprehensive Guild reply refuting statements by Publisher Merrill C. Meig of The American and Larry Kelly, editorial company-union head, and closing the controversy so far as The New World is concerned.

Money and pledges of support continue to come in from labor (irrespective of affiliation), religious, civic and community organizations throughout the country, as news of our battle spreads.

Chicago, Ill. MAXWELL E. H. PYLE

The Abraham Lincoln Boys Need Jobs

SIR: Seven hundred American boys of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have returned home within the past two months. All of these veterans need jobs.

Their war experience has given them added qualities of maturity and stability. They are a capable group of men with an undeniably high degree of initiative, who will be valuable assets in their widely varied vocational fields. To a man they are anxious to take part again in the normal pursuits of our everyday American life. The first and most important step in this process of rehabilitation is employment.

All liberal employers who recognize the unique service performed by these men for both Spanish and American democracy will want to aid them in their attempts to pick up the normal threads of their lives.

MARTIN HOURIHAN
Trade Union Director,
Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

New York City

Author's Correction

SIR: In my article "Three Thousand More Airplanes?" [The New Republic, January 25], there occurred a typographical error which changed the meaning of a sentence.

The sentence should read: "It (referring to oversize air-force expansion) would entail a grave overbalancing of our defensive mechanism, an overemphasis on air power which might have very serious results not only as to the army itself, but in inducing too great a public reliance on an arm which for our peculiar requirements has very definite limitations of usefulness." By error, the word "arm" was printed as "army," which seems to make me doubtful of the public reliance to be placed in our army as a whole, rather than in the air weapon as such.

I believe wholeheartedly in the United States Army, and my only doubts are as to the usefulness of including in it an undue proportion of aviation.

New York City GEORGE F. ELIOT

From The New Republic Mail Bag

William Levner, executive secretary of the Teachers' Union, Local 453, expresses his doubts about the purpose behind the WPA order to fingerprint all educational workers who come into contact with children. Ostensibly, the fingerprinting is done to prevent possible sex crimes. Mr. Levner points out, however, that the registration has not been limited to workers who deal with children; that carpenters, printers, clerks, technical workers and many others have had their thumbs recorded. He suggests that the order is a trial balloon preliminary to the fingerprinting of all the WPA workers in New York City, a potentially dangerous source for labor blacklists, control and intimidation of WPA workers, "frame-up" and "blackmail."

Robin Myers of the Youth Committee Against War of the Keep America Out of War Committee, writes that the picture Bruce Bliven Jr. presented of the American Student Union's Christmas convention was a false one. Mr. Myers says the ASU delegates are not wide-awake thinkers, not "the kind of citizens democracy so badly needs," but simply unthinking followers, accepting the kind of enthusiasm "which in the past has become war hysteria." . . . Eric Starbuck of North Andover, Massachusetts, thinks The New Republic goes too far in its spirit of fair play in printing "A Catholic Defends His Church," by George N. Shuster. . . . Josephine Goldmark, Taylor Hall, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, tells us about the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women in Industry which will be conducted this summer at West Park on the Hudson, New York. In addition to its regular summer session, the directors plan to leave the West Park buildings open all year, a place where institutes or labor groups may meet and where by experimentation the School may help serve the changing needs of labor.

H. A. Whipple of Atlanta, New York, is a friend of Congressman Dies. He thinks that the efforts of radicals to lampoon Mr. Dies have been a pretty complete flop; that the committee has done more to expose the self-named "liberals" than Mrs. Dilling and the combined patriotic organizations have done over a period of years (faint praise indeed) and that Dies is sure to get his additional appropriation. . . . A combined letter by Mrs. Vincent Sheean and Mrs. Raymond Gram Swing describes the new system of non-partisan relief which the Spanish government has inaugurated. Individuals abroad may now send "standard food parcels," ranging in price from $1 to $6, to specific or unnamed individuals in Spain. When an order for a parcel is received in a Spanish consulate abroad, instructions go to his city and the recipient is given the quantity of food and soap, designated and paid for by the foreign donor. The service has offices at 515 Madison Avenue, New York City, and at 1310 Astor Street, Chicago.

What's on the Air?

"Education and Coöperation of Labor and Management" is discussed by Paul Eliel, William S. Hopkins and James Quillen of Stanford University, Saturday, January 28, 12 noon, NBC-Blue Network.

Charles Fenwick, Charles Thomson and William T. Stone speak on "Solidarity in the Western Hemisphere," Saturday, January 28, 1:45 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

Secretary Harold L. Ickes and Sterling Fisher, director of talks and education on CBS, discuss "What Price America," Saturday, January 28, 5 P.M., CBS.

Roger Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, and others discuss "How Safe Are Our Civil Liberties?" on The People's Platform, Sunday, January 29, 7 P.M., CBS.

Representative Wright Patman of Texas speaks on the Chain-Store Tax Bill, Tuesday, January 31, 7:30 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

"How Can Europe Avoid War?" is debated by Jan Masaryk, Bruno Roselli and Dr. George E. Raiguel on America's Town Meeting of the Air, Thursday, February 2, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include Charpentier's "Louise" by the Metropolitan Opera Company, Saturday, January 28, 1:55 P.M., NBC-Red Network; "Men Against Death" presents the life of George McCoy of the United States Public Health Service, Saturday, January 28, 2 P.M., CBS; Arturo Toscanini, Saturday, January 28, 10 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; the New York Philharmonic, Sunday, January 29, 3 P.M., CBS; Bach's Cantata, Sunday, January 29, 7 P.M., Mutual; "Pinafore," Tuesday, January 31, 8 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Orson Welles presents "Arrowsmith," by Sinclair Lewis, Friday, February 3, 9 P.M., CBS; and Carnegie Tech Symphony Orchestra, Saturday, February 4, 1:30 P.M., Mutual.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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Books in Review

Professor Andrews' History

CHARLES M. ANDREWS has been called the dean of living American historians: and certainly in the technical sense of the term this is true. His claim to primacy in his field is a real one, not only because of the extraordinarily wide influence he has had on American historical scholarship and scholars but also because of the very ambitious project on which he is currently engaged. It is Professor Andrews' intention to tell the whole story of the colonial period of American history in a shelf of books[1]; and, although he is in his seventies, he has already carried out at least one-half of his program in the past five years.

Working from public documents, manuscript sources and contemporary writings almost exclusively, Professor Andrews has been writing, in its literal sense, a history *de novo*. In his story to date he has settled almost all the mainland and island colonies in America and established the origins of their legal and political institutions. His fourth and latest volume is an analysis of the development of England's commercial and colonial policy, viewed largely in terms of the rationale and functioning of its outstanding administrative agencies.

Naturally, a work projected on such a large scale will have many excellent things in it; and only space prevents an enumeration of all the specific merits of Professor Andrews' history. The author moves with great skill among the details of company and propriety maneuvers and intrigues. Equally notable are the following treatments: the planting of the religious commonwealths of Massachusetts and Connecticut (Vol. I); the system of land tenure in England which served as the basis for the creation of the proprieties (Vol. II); the character of mercantilism as a theory and a public policy (Vol. IV). On the other hand, the lacunae and the partialities also stand out. The history of the colonial period and the imperial-colonial relations is, in fact, told within narrow limits; for what we have here is the story of the founding of the joint stock companies and proprieties, their relations with the crown and its agencies, the location of patents, charters and privileges in the new world, the transplantation of private-property concepts, the founding of churches and the political and constitutional institutions devised for the establishment of colonial and responsible self-government.

Professor Andrews' sympathies are plainly with the ruling class, whatever it happens to be. Thus, he minimizes the oppressive nature of the early Stuart crown and church in the crucial period leading up to the English Revolution (Vol. I, pp. 382-3); and, overlooking the more than century-old history of the development of the concepts of popular sovereignty and natural rights, he refers to the fathers of the American Revolution as "individualists and political agitators [who] were concerned for what they called 'human rights and liberties.'" (Vol. IV, p. 427.) Also, he has the most contemptuous things to say about the indentured servants—that vast company of humble men and women by whose sacrifices and hard toil the settlement and development of large sections of colonial America were made possible. Thus, in Vol. I, page 502, occurs this passage: ". . . servants and apprentices, often coarse and quarrelsome, given to vicious and sometimes beastly practices, who because of drunkenness, fighting, swearing and immoral habits, made trouble for the courts." Similar references are to be found in Vol. II, page 2 and page 115.

The gaps the technically competent will have to detect. A few may be cited: Starting off with an analysis of the nature of English capitalism at the dawn of the period of settlement, Professor Andrews expresses little further interest in the subject. Having established the colonies in America and described in great detail the setting up of the system of private ownership of land, he gives no attention to the subsequent property relations. Was there land engrossment, oppression of tenants and small farmers, cruel treatment of squatters? The author does not tell. Having moved the indentured servants overseas, he says nothing of the parts they played in the political and economic life of the colonies or of their unequal place in the class society which at once took form. Having—almost casually—mentioned the introduction of tobacco in the planting colonies, he is silent concerning the economic and social characteristics of the plantation system. In short, Professor Andrews is not interested in the formation and practices of capital and in the life, laboring, rewards and punishments of the great mass of the population.

What is the author's frame of reference or argument? Surprisingly enough, never in a single place does Professor Andrews indicate what significant meaning he wishes attached to his whole narrative. The result is that one is compelled to piece it together for oneself; and in the process one discovers that there exists in the book considerable confusion as to the points at which the transitions take place.

The argument has three parts. Part one (with its terminal date variously fixed at 1655, 1689, and "more than one hundred years after the settlement of Virginia") presents the thesis that settlement was the work of private enterprise—the joint-stock companies and the proprieties—and planting and governance were in the interests almost entirely of capitalist gain. Part two has as its thesis the economic and political induction (with the emphasis on the former) of the colonies into the mercantilist pattern. The colonies were to produce the basic raw materials English merchant capitalism required, move almost all their goods for Europe through English ports, buy only from or through England their manufactured goods, and recognize the administrative controls imposed by the crown's agencies:

> . . . now at last a definite picture was conceived in the mercantilist mind of a colonial world, surrounded as it were by

[1] **The Colonial Period of American History, by Charles McLean Andrews. Vols. I, II, III: The Settlements; Vol. IV: England's Commercial and Colonial Policy. New Haven: Yale University Press. 565, 410, 367 and 488 pages. $4 each.**

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a ring-fence, the members of which were to work in coöperation with each other and in combination with England, the partner that reaped the eventual commercial advantage. This view of the place of the colonies in England's commercial system . . . was to give form to a body of regulative principles that were comprehensive and in a manner complete. These principles were to govern England's attitude toward her colonies from this time forward to the American Revolution. [Vol. IV, p. 348.]

This, obviously, is a straightforward materialist interpretation of the role of the state in the forging of the imperial-colonial bonds under the aegis of mercantilism. The author himself points up the analysis when he characterizes the Board of Trade—the chief administrative agency of the crown in the colonial scheme—in the following words: "Representative as they were of the *eighteenth-century ruling class*, they were unchanging in their principles and policies and were strict constructionists in all that concerned the interpretation of the navigation acts, the prevention of manufacturing in the colonies, the advancement of the interests of the merchants in England. . . ." (Vol. IV, p. 296; italics mine.)

This is as clear as running water. But then the author himself muddies the stream when he shifts the basis of state power. In another place, the ruling class of the eighteenth century becomes the English squirarchy, or landed gentry, which, as well, was markedly unlike its forerunner of the seventeenth century. To quote Professor Andrews again:

> Though in the seventeenth century they had life and vitality, courage and resource, they later became stereotyped, class-conscious and convinced of their own superiority. . . . As the manors within which these men lived were the one stable and enduring form of local and rural life in England that defined the relation of the mass of the people to their superiors in rank and gentility and as these men were the ones who *controlled the offices and formed the majority in Parliament, we can understand somewhat the insular and provincial state of mind that determined and was responsible for England's colonial policies down to and during the American Revolution.* [Vol. II, pp. 218-20; italics mine.]

Part three is only hinted at in the fourth volume, although it is familiar to all students of his earlier writings. It runs as follows: After 1763, when the Seven Years' War ended with the complete humbling of France, there was a change in policy once more, with mercantilism (in its economic sense) completely subordinated to political and constitutional considerations. The empire was to be knit closely together; the illegal colonial trade was to be curbed; the colonial paper currency was to be deflated; the western lands were to be closed until a proper form of administrative control should be devised; and the colonies were to be taxed to help pay the costs of the late war and the new institutionalism. Therefore, after 1763, the Board of Trade (which, in the earlier passage cited, had been the spokesman of the ruling class of the period, the merchant capitalists) fades out of the picture. It is replaced by the executive departments, the secretary of state, and Parliament (which, presumably, according to the later passage cited, is equally the spokesman for the ruling class of the period, but this time the squirarchy). The work, to date, closes on this anticipatory interpretation of the American Revolution:

> England's determination to centralize authority at Whitehall and Westminster; to maintain her colonies in a permanent state of subordination politically as well as commercially; to deny them the status of self-governing communities . . . all these things must be taken into consideration by anyone who wishes to understand the circumstances that brought on the American Revolution.

What can be behind such strange twists and turns in the most important work of America's outstanding historical scholar? Can it be that having himself raised the demon of historical materialism in the first two parts of his argument, he has become alarmed and is now trying to exorcise it? There is a terminal footnote in the latest volume which is likely to remain for some time one of the curiosities of contemporary historical literature. In it Professor Andrews says in part (the whole of its three closely printed pages, however, must be read):

> To emphasize the economic aspects to the exclusion of all else is to interpret human affairs in terms of material things only, to say nothing of the spiritual power necessary to use these material resources for human welfare, to ignore the influence of sentiment and morality, and to underrate the rich and varied stuff of human nature, the distractions of statesmen and the waywardness and uncertainty of events . . . if he is honest to himself and his evidence [the historian] cannot neglect the imponderable forces. . . .

And yet, Professor Andrews has furnished, through his excellent description of the mercantilist state, his own answer to his perplexity. The mercantilist state was the guardian of a closed system; and by the 1760's its projectors, beneficiaries and victims were being trapped behind its contracting walls. There was no room within it at the same time for a settled and privileged English capitalism and an expanding and yet hard-pressed colonial capitalism. To seek to characterize such an analysis as economic determinist, as Professor Andrews does, simply leads to obfuscation.

The believer in the theory of historical materialism—such as this reviewer—is no determinist: he does not assume for an instant that men are deprived of free choices. They live and breathe, think and act, erect an elaborate institutionalism of custom, ritual, law and social relationships; but alway within the limits of the essential property (which also means political) relations that typify their own society. Is it difficult to grant this? If so, will Professor Andrews say that under the dispensation of the capitalist state, socialist, or for that matter feudal, habits and outlooks can be dominant at the same time? He himself has denied such a position when he has pointed out that the proprieties, in their attempt to erect feudal manors in colonial America, met with almost immediate failure.

It is exactly because men think and move that, when they are confronted by privilege, they seek to scale its towers—or push them down. My argument is that by the 1760's, particularly after the reintroduction and the strengthening of the acts of trade and navigation, the colonists were beginning to find the mercantile state the oppressive state. They razed its towers, smashed its walls, broke the closed system—to walk out once again free. Professor Andrews, himself having built up elaborately the concept of the mercantilist state, wants to find other reasons than oppression for the desire of the colonists to be free; and he sees these largely in the fact that the colonists had in effect become

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Americans—rather than remaining Englishmen—as a result of the more than a century of geographical and spiritual separation. This is the Turner doctrine, applied to the American Revolution.

Two things—among others, of course—may be said in reply. First, that when the colonists cast about for a theory of freedom, they found it in the Lockian conception of the state: a theory which denied that the social contract could not be sundered. And was not Locke, the enemy of the authoritarian state, in the line of the same English tradition that had produced the Puritan Levelers and Roger Williams? The struggle against authoritarianism had a long past. Second, that Englishmen too were compelled to challenge the English oppressive state. I give Professor Andrews the history of the Chartists, good Britishers all, who, when denied the right of free association, sought to employ, two generations later, the same weapons used by the American Revolutionists.

LOUIS M. HACKER

The Terrible Child

The Death of the Heart, by Elizabeth Bowen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

READING ELIZABETH BOWEN is like watching a bird-dog work. Most of the time it is just motion you are looking at, but beautiful motion, for she writes with style (if you don't let go that newspaper, you'll soon have forgotten, if you ever knew, what style means). And then, as you watch, that easy coursing has suddenly frozen into the complete attention, the silent exclamation of a bird-dog pointing: here! now! this, right under your nose! And the quarry comes up in a whirr of life so startling, so close, that not even a novice could miss it.

Is this too far-fetched a way of saying that Elizabeth Bowen, as a writer, is beautiful most of the time and some of the time wise, which is more; that she is not a skimpy writer but so generous with her cleverness that she throws it away like a man throwing baseballs at a target? "The Death of the Heart" is announced as her best book. It is not really so good as "To the North." What such praise means to convey, I think, is that "To the North," for instance, was a freezing book, but that "The Death of a Heart" leaves you feeling warmer than before.

Again Miss Bowen writes the story of a good woman and a clever man. This time the good woman is introduced to us as a sixteen-year-old child, terrible in her innocence, a continually uncomfortable presence to the grown-ups because she is so awkward at pretending. Portia Quayne, who has known nobody but her mother and no life but vagabonding in second-rate European hotels, has just been orphaned. From that second-hand sense of duty that passes with most people as family feeling, her half-brother and his wife, who live cleverly and unhappily in London, give her temporary asylum. To them Portia is like a haunting visitant; to her they are part of an incomprehensible maneuver. When she meets Eddie, one of Mrs. Quayne's young men, they recognize each other instantly, like two white people in a crowd of blacks. Portia clings to him without question; but Eddie's childlikeness turns out to be that of a rather nasty little boy. Like so many bright young Englishmen, there is something epicene about him; he still has a child's sensitivity but the world has corrupted his heart, and he cannot bear Portia's singleness of being for any length of time.

Eddie is a congenital Judas, but for a long time the reader sides with Portia in not being willing to believe it. Bereaved at last of Eddie, there is no one else for her to turn to, except an idealistic middle-aged bore who is much too innocent himself to be of any practical help. So Portia, we are left to infer, will grow up too. But the net result, as I say, is hopeful: the effect of Miss Bowen's story is not so much to remind us how dreadful it is to be young as how poignant it may be to be alive, even for clever and worldly grown-ups.

In humanizing her story Miss Bowen has made two glaring concessions to "literature": the Greek-chorus character of Matchett, the lady's maid, is much overdone, and innocent Major Brutt is on one occasion made to speak completely out of turn and out of character. In spite of these bobbles, "The Death of the Heart" is a good book. If her heroine is not always and everywhere completely credible as an English girl, she is quite recognizable as an angel.

T. S. MATTHEWS

And the Hell with It

The Literary Life and the Hell with It, by Whit Burnett, illustrated by Ludwig Bemelmans. New York: Harper and Brothers. 283 pages. $2.50.

APPARENTLY this is a collection of end-pages from Story, which means the familiar essay again—the light and intimate touch in felt boots. Looking over its allusions to writers and writing and Story and humor and Story, I remembered and dug up a little job of excerpting I once did from one of the essays now reprinted. The excerpts were to have been printed as an item in a literary bandwagon project that never came off (Toward a Butter English). The item, "Mr. Burnett's Class in Composition," follows:

1. *Allusion and the grand, or sock, opening:* "When to the sessions of sweet silent thought we summon up remembrance of things past, we do not achieve a Shakespearean sonnet."

2. *Tactfully, to let in the air of sprightly anecdote*: "Our appearance in America was too much for the powers-that-be. They hatched up a nationwide conspiracy against us. And on the day this new transported magazine of deep-going literature appeared on the American newsstands to magnetize fifty-cent pieces or equivalent small nickels and dimes from the pockets of the literate, Franklin D. Roosevelt shut down every bank in the nation, and they began taking stamps and street-car transfers in Childs for a hand-out.

"Was that a depression!"

3. *No Greater Glory:* "She believed in the short story as only a person with a rare deep soul could believe in it."

4. *To coin a phrase:* "We swam almost to Ibiza. . . . But that's another *Geschichte*."

5. *To put it, how shall we say, delicately but with a soupçon of the gay dog:* "Some fellows even began to try what could be done with our own name STORY in their own private connection, putting other words before or after it, to get the same results with the public.

"It is hard to get the same result. You have to be a little touched in the head, perhaps. You have to have known a

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Whipping Boy, or *beatas*, or heard Robert McAlmon imitate a peacock in the dead of night on a windswept island of madness."

6. *And the mantle of philosophy:* "As we look out across the snowbound East River in the general direction of Europe, Vienna, Majorca and the past, the future does not look nearly so mad as the past. But, had we to do it all over again, we would probably do it all over again."

This sort of thing runs all through the book, and may make bright reading in some quarters, but if I were a typewriter, I'd blow up in his face. OTIS FERGUSON

I Write as I Live

Philosopher's Holiday, by Irwin Edman. New York: The Viking Press. 280 pages. $2.75.

HENRY ADAMS focused the attention of modern autobiographers upon regarding their lives not as a series of personal adventures but as a quest for patterns in experience, a conquest of meanings. His bleak discovery that there was no meaning for him, or, worse still, a negative one of disintegration into chaos, was the forerunner of a host of such efforts, some by men of obvious eminence, others by people whose opinions matter to no one but themselves. There is something more than a little ludicrous in the spectacle of every journalist gravely weighing the universe in his own little beam-balance. It is such "Testaments" and "Educations" that Professor Edman gently ridicules in his introductory "Apology for Not Writing an Autobiography." It is to avoid their weaknesses that he refuses to trace his intellectual history and takes refuge in easy-going informality.

"Philosopher's Holiday" has the flavor of conversational reminiscence, the conversation of an urbane and cultivated man, lit by engaging anecdote and sparks of wit; and it has, with all the merits, some of the faults of its scheme. Such conversation flowers out of the atmosphere of the luncheon or dinner table, of the cigarette after tea. Its stories—like those of Jewell Jones, the intellectual gob who enjoyed Professor Edman's "lyric flights"; of M. Platon, the philosophical doctor who ignored his patient's illness and argued about English poetry; of the respectable "madame" whose recommendation of her establishment enlivened a visit to the Pont du Garde (but I forget; this last is not included here)—derive part of their vitality, as Professor Edman's friends well know, from a pleased incredulity in the face, a tickled squeal in the voice. Translated into print they sometimes seem to lack a real *raison d'être* unless they are related to some larger issue or shoot a deeper insight into human existence. And when they do, they impinge on that very province, the meaning of one's experience, which Professor Edman pretends he is trying to avoid.

For the truth is, of course, that whenever autobiography is more than mere melodrama or success story it hinges on the revelation of significant values. This Professor Edman knows, for all his light derision, and the best of "Philosopher's Holiday" is where, for all his cheerfulness, "philosophy keeps breaking in." It appears in his sympathetic rendering of the conflict between tradition and change even among Syrian sophomores. It lights up a portrait-recollection of Robert Frost soliloquizing, hardly less as philosopher than

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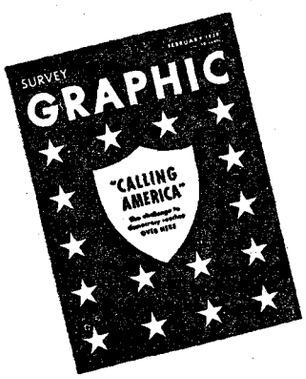

For the answers to these burning questions turn to the February *Survey Graphic* where 28 distinguished writers from Europe and America, under the special editorship of Raymond Gram Swing, cover the world crisis more comprehensively than a $3 book. So authoritatively do they discuss, over 148 pages, the consequences of tyranny—the plight of Europe's minorities since Munich—the refugee problem—minority problems—and anti-Semitism in the United States—our democratic duty to labor, Negroes, refugees—the course of democracy in a changing America—that you will refer to these articles for years to come.

Over a hundred photographs, drawings, charts, maps and a special two-page Low cartoon supplement to the text.

The caliber of the contributors to this issue suggests the high standard of articles which appear in every issue of *Survey Graphic*, the magazine David Cushman Coyle calls "the only authentic and readable current source of American social facts:" John Whitaker, Arthur Feiler, M. W. Fodor, Marvin Lowenthal, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, William E. Rappard, Dorothy Thompson, Dorothy Canfield, W. A. Neilson, Archibald MacLeish, Lewis Gannett, Alvin Johnson, Bertrand Russell, W. L. White, George M. Shuster, Everett Clinchy, Thomas Mann, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Felix Frankfurter and others.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Single copies of the February issue (not generally available on newsstands) sell for 50 cents. The annual subscription price of *Survey Graphic* is $3. For the next five issues—and the February number free—mail only $1 with the coupon below—*today!*

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as poet. It provides the depths in his portrayal of good and simple folk like Mathilde, who runs the elevator in Philosophy Hall, and Marie, who takes care of his apartment. It colors with respect and gratefulness his memory of his great teachers, Beard, Robinson, Woodbridge, Dewey.

And lastly, it is a constant touchstone of tolerance and sanity when he looks upon the contemporary scene. For Irwin Edman does not live in, though he may retire to, an Ivory Tower, and even then it is completely equipped with windows, radio and telephonic communication with the outside world. He is well aware of the threatening forces loose in that world, and of the need for opposing them with courage and intellectual clarity. But he knows, too, that it is an impoverishment of existence to see life "all threats, alarms and obligations," and never to be able to live in the beauty of the senses or of the mind. To make all values instrumental is to destroy values. Deferring appreciation till the future is no less a form of "escape" than retreating into the past or into estheticism. "Utopianism is one form of Ivory Tower, no matter how scientific or dialectical the language of its blueprints for human happiness." Balance is Professor Edman's ultimate wisdom, not the balance of passivity, but of forces in equilibrium. EDGAR JOHNSON

The German Girls

Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life, by Clifford Kirkpatrick. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 353 pages. $3.

"WOMEN," the General said, "like clergymen, are too sacred for politics." I had just asked General Goering how the women of Germany enjoyed the "back to the kitchen and nursery" movement of the Führer. The time was December, 1933. Women leaders in politics, science, the arts, were being humiliatingly deposed. The campaign for more babies and a return to home life meant, for thousands of women with no matrimonial prospects, merely the poverty of unemployment.

Dr. Clifford Kirkpatrick, professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota, has spent a year in Germany and written a fascinating book on the fate of Germany's "sacred" women. Handicapped by Nazi-prepared statistics, he has nevertheless condemned their inconsistencies and cruelties with their own data.

He finds that the more-babies campaign, while it has resulted in a population increase (by Nazi statistics), still leaves Germany 15 percent below the requirements for maintaining a constant population. This is in spite of extensive marriage loans made by the government, 1,000 marks to young couples, 250 marks being written off at the birth of each baby. It is in spite of the almost complete suppression of birth-control clinics and information, drastic punishment for abortions and the constant propaganda of social workers to urge child-bearing, even among the unemployed families on relief. Dr. Kirkpatrick was informed that artists painting family portraits were urged to include, if possible, at least four children in each picture. A leaflet setting forth ten commandments in regard to the choice of a marriage partner has a picture of a sturdy youth and maiden with no less than ten sleeping infants floating on a fleecy cloud above them.

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Although women were for a time forced out of jobs to be replaced by men, statistics now show that more women in proportion to the total number are employed than men. The Nazis had to reassign their women to "unwomanly" jobs in order to release the men for heavy work in munitions plants and in the fields. The only difference now is that the women work harder, receive less pay and are at the same time urged to go right on with their child-bearing. In spite of this, statistics again show that a greater percentage of women than men are good party followers. Dr. Kirkpatrick offers a partial explanation: "It is easy to underestimate the psychological satisfactions which National Socialism brought to German women as well as to German men. Many a shrunken ego was inflated by identification with a great tribal in-group. Millions of humble mothers were made to feel that the pangs of childbirth and the cares of child-bearing had at last been appreciated as a noble service to the folk state."

Meanwhile the Nazis shout about womanly work for women, and require from many of their daughters compulsory attendance on vast work farms. I lived for two days and nights on one of these work farms and would go much farther than Dr. Kirkpatrick in suggesting that the strict routine is tending to produce very unfeminine amazons. The girls at Kloster Zinna were herded together in a cold, old monastery with no privacy, made to wash outdoors in icy water at six A. M., and put through a work schedule that had one-third of them on the sick list.

One of the saddest phases of the complete party domination of German women is the deposing of their intelligent hard-working leaders for the hysterical feminine leadership of Frau Scholtz-Klink. She is a small blonde mouthpiece for the party propagandists, known as the Führerin. She heads the vast *Frauenwerk* which, with its membership of six to eight million women, has absorbed all the cultural, liberal, social women's groups in Germany.

MILDRED GILMAN

New Books: A Reader's List

GERMANS IN THE CAMEROONS, by Harry R. Rudin (Yale, $4). A Yale historian presents a detailed "case study in modern imperialism," of great interest in the light of Nazi claims for repossession of German colonies. He thinks that the Germans in Africa had a good record, as colonizers go. But the reader is likely to interpret his case study as an overwhelming document against *any* white exploitation of native tribes.

TWENTY YEARS' ARMISTICE: 1918-1938, by William Orton (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). His thesis: that Post-Munich Europe is the result of the injustices heaped upon the Central Powers by the victorious Allies and incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles. Force breeds force and hate begets hate. Mr. Orton proves his thesis by examining the course of history for the last twenty years. Experts will quarrel with him on various points, but the job he set for himself has been soundly done.

BEFORE AMERICA DECIDES, edited by Frank P. Davidson and George S. Viereck Jr. (Harvard, $3). Twelve papers by twelve authorities on foreign affairs. The first section of the book is devoted to the world background of

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the problem; the second to the American background. The concluding section, entitled "The Issue," contains four papers, including a study of "Neutrality" by Professor Edwin M. Borchard of Yale that is one of the best things in the book. The two undergraduate editors are to be complimented, not only for doing this book, but also for wanting to see it done.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC JONES WISTAR: 1827-1905 (Harpers, $4). A rich, full-bodied and thoroughly enjoyable life of a direct-actionist who was miner, trapper, muleteer, speculator, Civil War general and, in his later years, an associate of the "robber-baron" railroaders. Liberal readers should not let the General's Toryish inclinations get in the way of enjoying his story.

THE DAY OF THE LIBERALS IN SPAIN, by Rhea Marsh Smith (Pennsylvania, $3.50). A doctoral thesis tracing the Spanish government's see-saw between nascent liberalism and feudal reaction—with the clergy and military riding high—through the last century and a half. It ends in 1931, with the proclamation of a constitution for the second Spanish republic.

THE LAST OF THE SERIS, by Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge (Dutton, $2.50). An interesting account of six weeks among the Seris, an Indian tribe living on Tiburon Island in the Gulf of Lower California. Once aloof and warlike, they are now exploited by fishermen and are losing much of their primitive culture. Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge, however, found that they still retain a ceremonial song for every occasion. The book is illustrated by pictures of the tribal gods, drawn by Santo Blanco, the medicine man.

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUE IN THE WORLD WAR, by Harold D. Lasswell (Peter Smith, $3.50). A reprint of a standard work on the sociology of war propaganda, published in 1927 and more recently out of print.

YOKE OF STARS, by Frances Frost (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). Turning once more from poetry to fiction, Miss Frost reports on a woman who composes first-rate music and brings up first-rate children. As usual with such all-round geniuses—in novels—this one marries badly. The writing is sometimes beautiful, sometimes too breathless—but in either case is marked by a fresh intensity.

HERE COMES A CANDLE, by Storm Jameson (Macmillan, $2.50). Profile of a lodging house in London. A last-minute fire ties up all the loose ends without undue contrivance. The characters are sharp and well chosen; so that while none of them seems very important one way or another, the cumulative effect is one of somber and forceful reality.

THE YOUNGER VENUS, by Naomi Royde Smith (Macmillan, $2.50). A stolen set of Botticelli drawings, an unscrupulous critic, a couple who fall in love before they ever meet—these and similar fanciful props in a game of *hide-and-seek across Europe. Excessive coincidence, that* old standby, destroys the credibility but not the charm of this amusing tale.

Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD has written numerous books and articles on history, economics and politics. Macmillan will publish March 28 his latest manuscript, written in collaboration with his wife, Mary Beard. It is "America in Midpassage."

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, lecturer and military critic, is the author of the recently published "The Ramparts We Watch" (Reynal and Hitchcock).

SLATER BROWN, who has contributed book reviews and verse to many periodicals, is living in Patterson, New York.

JOHN STEVENS is the pseudonym of a young American now living in Russia.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES is the author, with Oliver Carlson, of "Hearst: Lord of San Simeon." Among his many other books are "The Story of Congress" and "The Story of the Supreme Court."

LOUIS M. HACKER is a lecturer in Economics at Columbia University. He is the author of "A Short History of the New Deal" and "American Problems of Today," recently published by F. S. Crofts and Company.

T. S. MATTHEWS has written two novels, "To the Gallows I Must Go" and "The Moon's No Fool." He lives in Princeton, New Jersey.

EDGAR JOHNSON, the author of "One Mighty Torrent: The Drama of Biography" and "The Praying Mantis," gives a course in Poetry of the Romantic Period and one in Modern Biography at The New School for Social Research.

MILDRED GILMAN is a novelist who spent some time in Germany as a newspaper correspondent. She now lives in Ridgefield, Connecticut, with her husband, Robert Wohlforth, secretary of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

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